DOUBLE ISSUE

DEC. 25, 2017 / JAN. 1, 2018

TIME

2018.
The Year Ahead

Culture.
The Most Fantastic Voyage
A Wrinkle in Time starring Storm Reid, Reese Witherspoon, Oprah Winfrey & Mindy Kaling

Politics.
The GOP After Alabama

Business.
Work's Weird Future

Health.
The Next Epidemic

Tech.
Robots May Save Us

One Year Later.
Where Three Refugee Families Ended Up

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TIME
VOL. 190, NO. 27–28 | 2017

2 | Conversation
6 | For the Record

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

7 | What to know about this year's virulent **flu**

10 | The fine print on President Trump's NASA **moonshot**

11 | **Bitcoin**'s milestone year

12 | A **Nobel Peace Prize winner**'s plan for a nuke-free world

14 | A lens on California's historic **wildfires**

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

17 | **Katie Couric, Robin Roberts, Patton Oswalt** and more on how to muster holiday cheer after trauma and loss

21 | Why former Vice President **Joe Biden** is in awe of the families of the victims of the Sandy Hook massacre

22 | James Stavridis on working with retired lieut. general **Michael Flynn**

27 | Raising sons who **respect women**

THE YEAR AHEAD

POWER

Power brokers to watch next year, including Alabama's Senator-elect Doug Jones, Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman and the world's youngest female leader, New Zealand's Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern **30**

INNOVATION

The search for solutions to the world's toughest problems, from antibiotic-resistant infections to climate change. Plus, robots to the rescue **54**

CULTURE

Movies, TV, music, sports, books and plays to look forward to, from *A Wrinkle in Time* to the Olympics **70**

FINDING HOME

The final chapter of our multimedia series following three Syrian refugee families and their babies
By Aryn Baker **94**

^ *Volunteers hang the American flag ahead of a Dec. 11 Midland City, Ala., campaign rally for Roy Moore*

Photograph by Luke Sharrett—Bloomberg/Getty Images

ON THE COVER: *Photograph by Michal Pudelka for TIME*

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What you said about ...

TIME's 2017 Person of the Year selection of "The Silence Breakers"—the courageous women and men who spoke up about sexual harassment and assault—started a conversation that continues weeks later. The choice began trending on social media immediately after editor-in-chief Edward Felsenthal announced it on NBC's *Today* on Dec. 6, and more people visited TIME.com that day than on Election Day in 2016. In the weeks since, writers and editors have received dozens of messages from readers who said they found comfort and solidarity in the choice—and who wanted to share their own stories. (If you have a story to share, please write to letters@time.com.) Here's a glimpse at the reactions so far:

@RWITHERSPOON:
All of these individuals are such an inspiration. I am in awe of their courage to speak out for those who have no ability to do so. #SilenceBreakers #MeToo #TIMEPOY @TIME

'The women's movement should not stop with sexual assault issues.'

PAUL FEINER, Greenburgh, N.Y.

@THEELLENSHOW:
If you're feeling like you're too scared to speak up because the world doesn't want to hear what you have to say, let this be proof that your voice matters. #TIMEPOY#MeToo

'This is a revolution that will lead to safer workplaces in every industry.'

@EXTRATREMEERIAL, Berlin

@EMMAWATSON:
Thank you to @TIME's Person of the Year- the SILENCE BREAKERS for your voices in this time of change.

'We'll know we've turned a corner against sexual harassment when TIME's Person of the Year doesn't need to remain anonymous.'

KRIS SOWOLLA, Los Gatos, Calif.

When TIME announced that its Person of the Year would be the "Silence Breakers" (the women and men who've stepped into the light to share their sexual assault survival stories and launched the #MeToo movement), it was one of those explosive bursts of hope. It felt like the planet finally getting it right; a welcome rain of rightness to a place so parched for it.

JOHN PAVLOVITZ, pastor and blogger

@ELINATUOMIART:
Tarana Burke, who started the #metoo campaign before the hashtag is @TIME Magazine's Person Of The Year among other #SilenceBreakers? I thank you for your activism.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In "The Silence Breakers" (Dec. 18), we misstated when the claims settled by Bill O'Reilly and Fox News were first disclosed. The New York *Times* reported in April that Fox and O'Reilly had settled five claims against him. O'Reilly left the network later that month. In "Party of One" (Dec. 11), we misstated Senator Jeff Flake's views on Hillary Clinton. In his recent book, Flake said he opposed her candidacy for President on policy grounds, contrasting that position with those of people who seemed to think Clinton was "one of the darkest figures in human history." In the same issue, in the review "No Home on the Range on Epic-Scale *Godless*," we misidentified the creator of the series. It is Scott Frank, not its executive producer Steven Soderbergh.

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Homeward bound

LAST YEAR, for our Finding Home project, TIME documented the lives of three Syrian refugees in Greece as they prepared to give birth while facing uncertainty. First, we introduced the world to newborns Rahaf, Heln and Faraj on covers shot by photojournalist Lynsey Addario. Then, throughout 2017, Addario, with Africa bureau chief Aryn Baker and videographer Francesca Trianni, followed their stories in TIME and @findinghome on Instagram. Here, highlights from our multiplatform coverage.

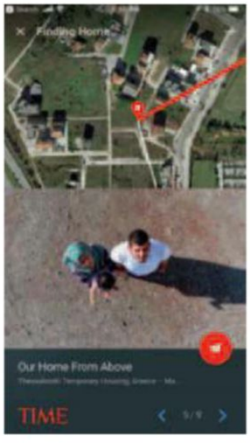
RAHAF, born Nov. 1, 2016, to a mother living in a refugee camp; below, on Nov. 22, 2017

HELN, born Sept. 13, 2016, to a mother living in a refugee camp; below, on Sept. 13, 2017

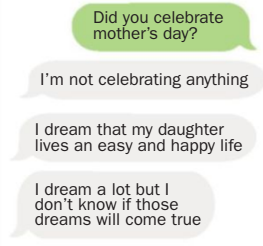
FARAJ, born Oct. 2, 2016, to a mother living in a refugee camp; below, on Aug. 9, 2017

THE TEAM
"I'll be connected with these women and children for years," says Baker, pictured center in left-hand photo with Trianni, left, and Addario. "I want to know what kind of girl Rahaf grows up to be, where Heln will live and what's in store for Faraj."

Experience TIME's multimedia package on Finding Home at *time.com/finding-home*



AROUND THE WORLD
Follow Nour and Yousef, Rahaf's parents, through a 3-D Google Voyager rendering of their movements out of Syria, through Turkey and Greece (where Rahaf was born) and finally to a new studio apartment in Germany.


Did you celebrate mother's day?
I'm not celebrating anything
I dream that my daughter lives an easy and happy life
I dream a lot but I don't know if those dreams will come true

DIRECT MESSAGES
Watch videos from baby Heln's first year interspersed with text-message conversations between her mother Taimaa and the Finding Home reporters, chronicling the family's ups and downs as they seek asylum in Europe.

Reporting for this project is supported by a grant from the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting and Merck for Mothers (known as MSD for Mothers outside the U.S. and Canada)

RAHAF, HELN, FARAJ, BEDROOM: LYNSEY ADDARIO—VERBATIM FOR TIME (7); AROUND THE WORLD, FROM TOP: GOOGLE EARTH; GIORGOS MOUTAFIS FOR TIME

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THIS CELL DEBILITATES MS SUFFERERS.
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Recently, researchers developed a new arsenal of multiple sclerosis therapies to slow disease progression and manage symptoms with fewer side effects.

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‘We can talk about the weather.’

REX TILLERSON, U.S. Secretary of State, said on Dec. 12, calling for a meeting with North Korea two months after President Trump said the diplomat was “wasting his time” trying to talk to the Hermit Kingdom. Three days later, Tillerson reversed course

144

Number of skyscrapers (buildings measuring over 656 ft., or 200 m) built in 2017, more than in any other year in history

Elephant ears
Dumbo **was added to the National Film Registry**

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Bears Ears
Documents show that a uranium company lobbied the U.S. government to shrink the national monument

‘IN HIS EYES, I WAS NOT AN ARTIST. I WASN’T EVEN A PERSON. I WAS A THING; NOT A NOBODY, BUT A BODY.’

SALMA HAYEK, actor, becoming the latest woman to accuse Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein of sexual misconduct

3,500

Approximate age, in years, of **ancient Egyptian tombs that were discovered** on the west bank of the Nile in the city of Luxor

$11 million

Amount of **money that YouTube channel Ryan ToysReview, hosted by a 6-year-old, earned** from June 1, 2016, to June 1, 2017, putting him on *Forbes*’ 2017 list of the world’s highest-paid YouTube stars

‘IF ANYONE CAN MAKE IT, YOUR DAD CAN.’

JOE BIDEN, former U.S. Vice President, to Meghan McCain, daughter of Republican Senator John McCain of Arizona, who has the same form of brain cancer that Biden’s late son Beau had

‘WE HAVE CREATED TOOLS THAT ARE RIPPING APART THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF HOW SOCIETY WORKS.’

CHAMATH PALIHAPITIYA, former Facebook executive, encouraging an audience at the Stanford Graduate School of Business to take a “hard break” from social media; Facebook responded by saying that it was a “very different company” when he worked there

‘Why does it all have to take on some tint of spymania?’

VLADIMIR PUTIN, Russian President, accusing President Trump’s opponents of cooking up a story about Russian meddling in the U.S. election.

SOURCES: ASSOCIATED PRESS; THE COUNCIL ON TALL BUILDINGS AND URBAN HABITAT; NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC; NEW YORK TIMES; WASHINGTON POST

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief

'FIHN KNOWS THAT EVEN IF THE TREATY BECOMES INTERNATIONAL LAW, NUCLEAR WEAPONS WON'T DISAPPEAR.' —PAGE 12

A fiercer-than-usual flu season will meet a less-effective-than-usual vaccine. That spells trouble

REUTERS

HEALTH

The surprising virulence of this year's flu

By Alice Park

YOU HAVE TO HAND IT TO THE influenza virus. For something that's invisible to the human eye, it certainly has a way of grabbing our attention and anxiety—not just once in a blue moon but every year, winter after winter.

This season the potentially deadly virus is in rare form. Public-health experts are predicting that this year's flu will be severe for several reasons. Cases are starting up early, which is one indicator of an aggressive virus. Another worry: Australia's flu season typically augurs that of the U.S., and so far this year, Australia recorded 2½ times as many cases, compared to the same period last year.

What's more, experts report that the flu vaccine, designed to inoculate hundreds of millions of people, may not be as effective as they'd hoped.

Normally in severe flu seasons like this one, the reasons for the suffering are pretty straightforward. Flu vaccines have long been manufactured in a decades-old process that involves growing the influenza virus in millions of chicken eggs, over a period of about four months. That means flu-shot manufacturers need a head start. Every year in the spring, influenza experts at the World Health Organization (WHO) make their best educated guess, based on the previous year's flu cases, about which strains of the virus will make the rounds in the coming winter. Sometimes they nail it. But sometimes they don't—and entirely different strains circulate that make people sick.

The virus can also mutate quickly, so by the time the vaccines are doled out, the bugs people are spreading through

PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIC GAILLARD

sneezes and coughs may be different from the ones you were vaccinated against.

That leads to more people catching the flu, even if they are immunized, and getting sick. (Flu-related illnesses can also be deadly, claiming up to 600,000 people per year globally.)

This year, there seems to be something else going on. The viruses in the vaccine are similar to the virus that people are encountering from other sick people. Theoretically, it should then offer good protection against catching the flu.

But it isn't. Why? For the first time, there is evidence that the way flu shots are made may be contributing to lower effectiveness.

Because public-health officials have to guess which versions of the flu will cause disease, they hedge their bets and include several strains in the shot. This year's shot includes H1N1, H3N2 and an influenza B. Flu viruses are not easy to grow in chicken eggs, so to help the process along, researchers make minor changes to the virus. Those changes, says Brendan Flannery, an epidemiologist in the influenza division of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), may be making the H3N2 strain in particular less potent—which would limit the immune response it triggers in the body. Since that immune response is critical to how vaccines work, this could lead to people remaining susceptible to that particular strain of flu going around—even if they got their flu shot.

"There is evidence that growing the vaccine virus in eggs resulted in changes that altered the vaccine's effectiveness," he says. When researchers compared the H3N2 strain from infected people with the original H3N2 reference strain designated by the WHO, they did not find many differences. But when they compared the virus in infected people to the vaccine virus that was grown in eggs, they saw changes. Says Flannery: "The take-home message is that vaccine production, growing the virus in eggs, can cause some of the problems we are seeing."

Scientists are trying to shift away from egg-based vaccine production, but they haven't found a reliable alternative method yet. Even a new form of vaccination, a nasal spray that was introduced in 2003, is no longer recommended by the CDC, after it seemed to offer less protection against another strain, H1N1, compared with the shots.

So should you try to survive the season without getting vaccinated? That's not a good idea, say leading experts, since even if the vaccine is not effective against one strain, it will still protect you against other strains that may be making the rounds. And that's important, especially for preventing transmission of flu among people with weaker or less developed immune systems, such as infants, the sick and the elderly. When it comes to viruses, the science is clear: some protection is better than none. ◻

TICKER

Court rejects transgender ban

Transgender people will be allowed to enlist in the military starting on Jan. 1, the Pentagon confirmed, after a federal judge rejected a legal challenge from the Trump Administration to delay an Obama-era repeal of the long-standing ban.

NYC bombing suspect charged

Prosecutors brought federal terrorism charges against Akayed Ullah, who is accused of detonating a pipe bomb near New York's Port Authority bus terminal on Dec. 11. "I did it for the Islamic State," he allegedly told police.

6,700 Rohingya killed in Myanmar

Doctors Without Borders released a conservative estimate that 6,700 Rohingya Muslims were killed over a single month by Myanmar government forces between August and September. The U.N. has described Myanmar's crackdown as "ethnic cleansing."

France to seek age limits for Facebook

A draft bill approved by the French Cabinet proposes that children under 16 must have parental permission to open a social-media account. It does not suggest how the law would be enforced. Separately, the country will ban cell phones in elementary and middle schools in the next academic year.

WORLD

Nationalists defending anthems

National-anthem feuds took center stage in 2017 after U.S. President Donald Trump took issue with how some NFL players were kneeling during the anthem to protest racial inequality and police brutality, a movement that was popularized the year before by Colin Kaepernick. Political leaders in other countries are now taking stronger steps to defend their own national anthems. —*Kate Samuelson*

In October, soccer fans in Hong Kong turned their backs during China's national anthem

THE PHILIPPINES

A Filipino man was arrested on Nov. 18 for refusing to stand while the national anthem was played at a movie theater. Lawmakers had taken steps in June to require that Filipinos sing "Lupang Hinirang" with "fervor" or else face fines of up to $2,000 and jail time.

TURKEY

Teachers who were fired in a government purge have held months of hunger strikes in protest. In response, Ankara officials banned public demonstrations in September and outlawed "singing the national anthem in a disturbing way."

CHINA

China's national-anthem law went into effect on Oct. 1. The ruling, which covers mainland China as well as Hong Kong and Macau, punishes those who mock or insult the country's "March of the Volunteers" anthem with prison terms of up to three years.

DIGITS

26

Number of countries that now permit **gay couples to marry,** following the Australian Parliament's landslide vote to legalize same-sex marriage on Dec. 7; Germany and Malta also passed marriage-equality laws in 2017

NATIONAL ANTHEMS: KIN CHEUNG—AP/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; WORLD: ALEKSEY NIKOLSKYI—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

RUN, RUN, RUDOLPH What's red and white and runs all over? These participants in an annual Santa Claus–themed run in Michendorf, Germany, got into the holiday spirit on Dec. 10 while racing through the area in full costume. *Photograph by Ralf Hirschberger—AFP/Getty Images*

WORLD

Which regions might try to break away in 2018?

ELECTIONS ON THE FRENCH ISLAND OF CORSICA on Dec. 10 resulted in victory for a nationalist party demanding more autonomy from the Paris government. Add it to the list of separatist movements threatening to redraw boundaries next year.

CATALONIA After an illegal independence referendum in October precipitated a Spanish constitutional crisis, regional elections are scheduled for Dec. 21 in this culturally distinct area of Spain. The new elections, which follow Madrid's dissolution of the Catalan parliament, are shaping up to be another battle between separatists and unionists. The result could embolden Catalan nationalists to seek another referendum.

REPUBLIKA SRPSKA Bosnia and Herzegovina emerged as a country in 1992, in the wake of ethnic violence that tore apart Yugoslavia. Now the populist Bosnian Serb leader Milorad Dodik is calling for his autonomous region, Srpska, to secede. In June, he canceled plans for a 2018 referendum but said he was following "the path to independence." Critics warn that a vote could reignite ethnic violence.

BIAFRA Half a century ago, Nigeria quashed a push for independence in this southern region. The movement surged again this year when President Muhammadu Buhari left the country to seek medical treatment. In September, the government declared separatist group the Indigenous People of Biafra terrorists and raided the home of its leader, Nnamdi Kanu. The crackdown has only increased calls for change.

—BILLY PERRIGO

Dodik, left, has been embraced by Vladimir Putin

DATA

IS LIFE BETTER NOW THAN IT WAS 50 YEARS AGO?

That's what the Pew Research Center asked nearly 43,000 people in 38 countries. Here's the percentage of people who said yes, in a sample of countries:

88% Vietnam

68% South Korea

50% Russia

37% U.S.

23% Italy

10% Venezuela

TICKER

Trump's Jerusalem move sparks action

The leaders of 57 majority-Muslim countries jointly urged the international community to recognize East Jerusalem as the occupied capital of the Palestinian state, a rebuke against President Trump, who announced on Dec. 6 that the U.S. would recognize Jerusalem as the Israeli capital.

Lawmaker takes life after sex claims

Dan Johnson, a Republican state lawmaker in Kentucky, died, apparently by suicide, on Dec. 13. He had been accused of sexually assaulting a teenage girl in 2013, which he denied.

Australia grounds pedophiles

Australia implemented what officials called a "world-first" law barring registered child-sex offenders from international travel. The law took immediate effect on Dec. 13, when a pedophile was turned away from Sydney Airport.

Military drone helps fight wildfires

A military reaper drone assisted firefighters battling the 237,500-acre Thomas wildfire in California. The drone provided firefighters on the ground with real-time video of the fire from a five-mile altitude.

SPACE

Trump calls for a return to the moon. Don't start packing

By Jeffrey Kluger

THE EASIEST PART ABOUT GOING TO THE moon is, well, going to the moon. Once you've got funding and a crew, and a rocket and spacecraft on the launchpad, just gas up and go. We did it before, and we can do it again.

The trick is all that other stuff that has to come first—especially the money, the rocket and the spacecraft. Details like those are worth keeping in mind in the wake of President Trump's just-signed Space Policy Directive, which sets NASA on a path to get Americans back to the moon and eventually to Mars.

The most encouraging part of the announcement is that it comes at the end of an orderly process. In June, Trump re-established the National Space Council, an advisory panel that had not existed since 1993. In October, the council met and instructed NASA to deliver a blueprint for crewed travel to the moon and Mars. NASA complied, and Trump's move is a result of that plan.

Now things get tricky—beginning with the money. In March, Trump held a signing ceremony to call for a bump in NASA's annual budget to $19.5 billion. That's nice, but it's not remotely moon money. NASA's peak funding year was 1966, when the agency received a federal outlay of $5.9 billion—or $45.7 billion in 2017 dollars. And while that allowance represented 4.4 % of the total federal budget, NASA's current share is less than 0.5%. Want to go to the moon? Pay the fare.

Then there's the business of the rocket and the spacecraft. The heavy-lift Space Launch System (modern-day NASA's answer to the Saturn V moon rocket) and the Orion spacecraft (the modern-day Apollo) have been in more or less continuous development since 2004, but design challenges and drip-drip funding have caused the schedule for the first launch to slip repeatedly. The current target is late 2019. Maybe.

> Peak funding for NASA was in 1966, when the agency received 4.4% of the federal budget. Today it gets less than 0.5%

Compare that to the Saturn V. It was invented and built in just six years—from 1961 to 1967—and 13 of them were launched by 1973. Such progress only happens when mission meets money.

Finally, there are the limits of the directive itself. Trump's plans reverse President Obama's, which called for NASA to capture a small asteroid, move it to the vicinity of the moon and send astronauts out to explore it. Obama's oddball plan, in turn, reversed President George W. Bush's, which was closer to Trump's. And Bush's changed President Clinton's, which focused on the space shuttle and the International Space Station. By contrast, the Apollo program's lunar objective was a shared vision of four Presidents, from Eisenhower through Nixon.

None of this is to say that the new announcement is meaningless—but directives are easy. It's the follow-up that matters. ◻

TRAVEL

Unhappy landings

A flight to Switzerland made an unscheduled stop in Germany on Dec. 9 after a business-class passenger became aggressive when she was denied champagne. Here, other unusual causes for a diversion. —*K.S.*

COMFORT BREAK
A Delta flight heading to New York City from Seattle diverted hundreds of miles on Dec. 2 to make an emergency bathroom stop in Billings, Mont., when the plane's facilities stopped working.

CHEATING SPOUSE
In November, a Qatar Airways flight to Bali stopped in India when a woman reportedly became aggressive with her husband after she discovered from his cell phone that he was having an affair.

DOLLY PARTON
In 2013, an American Airlines flight from L.A. to New York City diverted to Kansas City, Mo.'s airport due to a "disruptive" woman who would not stop singing Parton's classic ballad "I Will Always Love You."

Milestones

DIED

Edwin M. Lee, the mayor of San Francisco, at 65. Lee was previously San Francisco's human-rights commissioner and was the first Asian-American to be elected mayor of the California city. London Breed has been appointed acting mayor.

› **Simeon Booker,** the trailblazing African-American journalist known for his pioneering coverage of the civil rights movement, at 99.

› France's rock-'n'-roll icon **Johnny Hallyday,** known as the "French Elvis," at 74. Hallyday sold more than 110 million records during his 55-year career.

AGREED

A deal to buy most of **21st Century Fox by the Walt Disney Co.,** in a roughly $52.4 billion transaction. The deal, which includes Fox's movie studios TV networks FX and Nat Geo, is the biggest acquisition in Disney's history.

CONFIRMED

By Apple that it has **bought the song-recognition app Shazam.** Terms were not disclosed, though Tech Crunch valued the deal at $400 million.

Loeb, left, in New York City upon his retirement from Fortune *in April 1994, with his successor, Walter Kiechel III*

DIED

Marshall Loeb *Indefatigable editor*

PEOPLE OFTEN ASKED MARSHALL LOEB, A LONGTIME EDITOR at TIME, *Fortune* and *Money* who died at 88 on Dec. 9, why he refused to sell his company stock when its price would waver. "You dance with the girl that brought ya," he'd explain with a twinkle in his eye.

Affable, tireless and steadfastly loyal, Loeb reinvigorated *Fortune* and *Money,* and collected virtually every major award in business journalism. As a teenager, his curiosity led him to travel to postwar Germany to understand what made Nazism possible. As an adult, he prowled the halls of the Time & Life building, chomping on gum and driving his adoring staff to complete the next magazine issue to his exceedingly high standards.

Loeb grew up a Jewish kid in Depression-era Chicago, and though he eventually allowed himself a signature Burberry trench coat, he never lost his sense of humility. He would offer colleagues a lift from the office, give women career opportunities at a time when it was unfashionable and ask the opinion of everyone he met. But publishing was the love of Loeb's life. "When will you retire?" people would ask him in his later years. His reply: "When I'm in a box." —ANDREW NUSCA

HIT

Bitcoin: New highs, new concerns

BITCOIN PRICES ARE shattering records on a near daily basis: the digital currency soared above $18,000 in December, more than 23 times its price a year earlier. The spike prompted U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission chairman Jay Clayton to say, "We are hearing the familiar refrain, 'This time is different.'"

Less than a decade ago, the concept of a secure virtual currency was limited to the geekiest corners of the Internet. Today it is gaining traction among individuals and institutions alike. Major derivatives exchanges have begun offering Bitcoin futures. The Facebook-famous Winklevoss twins are now believed to be Bitcoin billionaires, riding a wave of intense interest that has inflated the value of many digital currencies.

Critics say it will eventually plummet—a bubble of epic proportions. Whether digital currency proves to be a fad or a fixture, expect continued volatility.

—LUCINDA SHEN

TRAVEL: JOE RAEDLE—GETTY IMAGES; LOEB: JACK MANNING—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; BITCOIN: DAN KITWOOD—GETTY IMAGES

TIME with: Nobel Peace laureate Beatrice Fihn

By Bryan Walsh

THIS IS WHAT MAY HAPPEN WHEN YOU BECOME A NOBEL Peace laureate—at least according to Beatrice Fihn. On the morning the prize winner is named, a man with a very strong Norwegian accent will call you up. After too much preamble, he'll get to the point: You and your organization have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, an achievement that puts you in the company of luminaries like Martin Luther King Jr. and the Dalai Lama. And if you're Fihn, the executive director of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) and a 2017 Nobel Peace laureate, you will vaguely suspect the whole thing is a prank.

"It was really a shock," she says of the call on Oct. 6 revealing that ICAN had been awarded the Peace Prize. "We first thought it was a joke. We had to watch the live Nobel announcement before we celebrated. We wondered if someone might be tricking us."

You can't blame her. The Swedish-born activist is just 35, and her decade-old NGO—which is really a loose coalition of 468 organizations with just a handful of staffers of its own—was little known outside the obscure circle of disarmament groups. Yet if Fihn and ICAN's 2017 Nobel win was a long shot, their ultimate goal seems even more improbable: the elimination of the world's 15,000 nuclear warheads. "If we keep nuclear weapons around forever, they will be used," she says. "But we can fix this as an international community."

> 'It's no longer going to be seen as something powerful states have. It will be something shameful.'
>
> BEATRICE FIHN

FIHN IS AN UNLIKELY LEADER of the campaign. She wasn't even 10 years old when the Cold War ended, so throughout most of her life, nuclear weapons seemed to be a problem of the past. And while the popular image of the nuclear priesthood is a Strangelovian scientist or a steely-eyed missile man, Fihn is positively bubbly. The walls of ICAN's offices in Geneva feature posters of Lego figures—one of Fihn's nondisarmament hobbies—which means that while the new Nobel laureate was being interviewed on the day of the announcement, cameras caught EVERYTHING IS AWESOME! in the background as she explained the urgent need to rid the world of nuclear weapons.

Fihn and ICAN have already recorded real accomplishments. In July, negotiators representing two-thirds of the U.N.'s 192 members finalized the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, which calls for the destruction of all nuclear arms and a permanent ban on their use. The treaty will become international law 90 days after being ratified by 50 governments. (So far, the Vatican, Thailand and Guyana have ratified the agreement, and dozens more have initially signed on.) Fihn was a prime mover on the treaty, and Berit Reiss-Andersen, the chair of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, told reporters on the day the prize was announced that ICAN was being recognized "for its groundbreaking efforts to achieve a treaty-based prohibition of [nuclear] weapons."

This despite the fact that all the countries with nuclear weapons—the U.S., Russia, China, Britain, France, India, Pakistan and North Korea—opposed the treaty. (Israel is widely considered to have nuclear weapons, but the country has neither confirmed nor denied that it does.) The U.S. even pressured NATO allies who lack nuclear weapons of their own to boycott treaty negotiations. "There is nothing I want more for my family than a world with no nuclear weapons," U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Nikki Haley told reporters earlier in 2017. "But we have to be realistic."

Fihn knows that her critics see her as unrealistic, even naive. She knows that even if the treaty becomes international law, nuclear weapons won't disappear anytime soon. Powerful countries like the U.S. and Russia count on nuclear arsenals to stay powerful, while rogue states like North Korea have proved that they are willing to bear sanctions and the threat of military action if it means having nuclear arms of their own. But Fihn believes that the treaty could help galvanize public opinion against nukes. "It's no longer going to be seen as something powerful states have," she says. "It will be something shameful, something only terrorists would have."

Fihn grew up in the Swedish city of Goteborg, the child of politically engaged parents—she remembers her family's declining to buy French wine in the mid-'90s after France came under criticism for continuing to test nuclear bombs. But she came to the world of nuclear weapons in a roundabout fashion. In 2009, Fihn worked as an intern at a Swedish feminist peace organization, which sent her to a conference on nuclear disarmament in Geneva. It was one of those U.N. meetings where matters go to be talked to death, but much to Fihn's surprise, she became fascinated by these weapons that the rest of the world wanted to forget. "Nobody really talked about

ARMS AND THE MEN

15,000
Approximate number of nuclear warheads in the world today, with more than three-quarters possessed by the U.S. and Russia

$10 million
Annual budget of the U.N. Office for Disarmament Affairs, which is less than the amount spent on nuclear weapons every hour

100 million
Number of people who would die in the first half hour alone of a full-scale nuclear war between the U.S. and Russia, according to ICAN

ODD ANDERSON—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Fihn accepts the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of ICAN at the Nobel ceremony in Oslo on Dec. 10

what would happen if a nuclear bomb went off," she says. "Or the suffering of civilians that would follow."

WHILE MOST EXPERTS view nuclear arms as an unavoidable guarantor of global peace, Fihn sees nukes for what they are: weapons. Horrifying weapons designed to kill and maim millions of civilians, but weapons nonetheless. And just as humanity has decided before that weapons like land mines and cluster munitions should be beyond the pale, we could one day do the same with nuclear arms. "Sometimes I get the feeling that people think of nuclear weapons as a natural disaster, like an asteroid, and there's nothing we can do," says Fihn. "But people made them. And we can take them apart."

Fihn has an optimistic air for someone working to forestall the apocalypse, but she knows we're running out of time. No less a cold warrior than former U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry recently warned that there's a "very real danger that we will blunder into a nuclear war."

Which, of course, brings us to President Trump, the man whose itchy Twitter finger is at least somewhat responsible for Fihn and ICAN's Nobel Prize. Trump reportedly told his national-security team this summer that he wanted a nearly tenfold increase in the U.S. nuclear arsenal—though he later denied the report—and as a candidate he flirted with the idea of allowing allies like Japan to build their own nuclear weapons. This fall, for the first time in four decades, the Senate convened a hearing to examine the President's nuclear authority—a sign that the U.S. is waking up to the uncomfortable fact that nuclear weapons give a single person the power to end the world. And that person is currently Donald J. Trump.

Fihn is certainly no fan of Trump's. A few days before the Nobel announcement, she called Trump a "moron" on Twitter, though Fihn now says she intended her post as a joke. But Fihn thinks it's a mistake to focus too much on Trump. "If you're scared of Donald Trump having control over nuclear arsenals, you're probably just scared of nuclear weapons." ◻

LightBox

Fleeing the inferno

A family in Ventura, Calif., prepares to evacuate as the Thomas Fire gets closer to their home on Dec. 5. Thousands of firefighters battled the massive blaze, which after more than a week had become the fourth largest wildfire in state history and burned hundreds of homes.

Photograph by Marcus Yam—Los Angeles Times/Polaris

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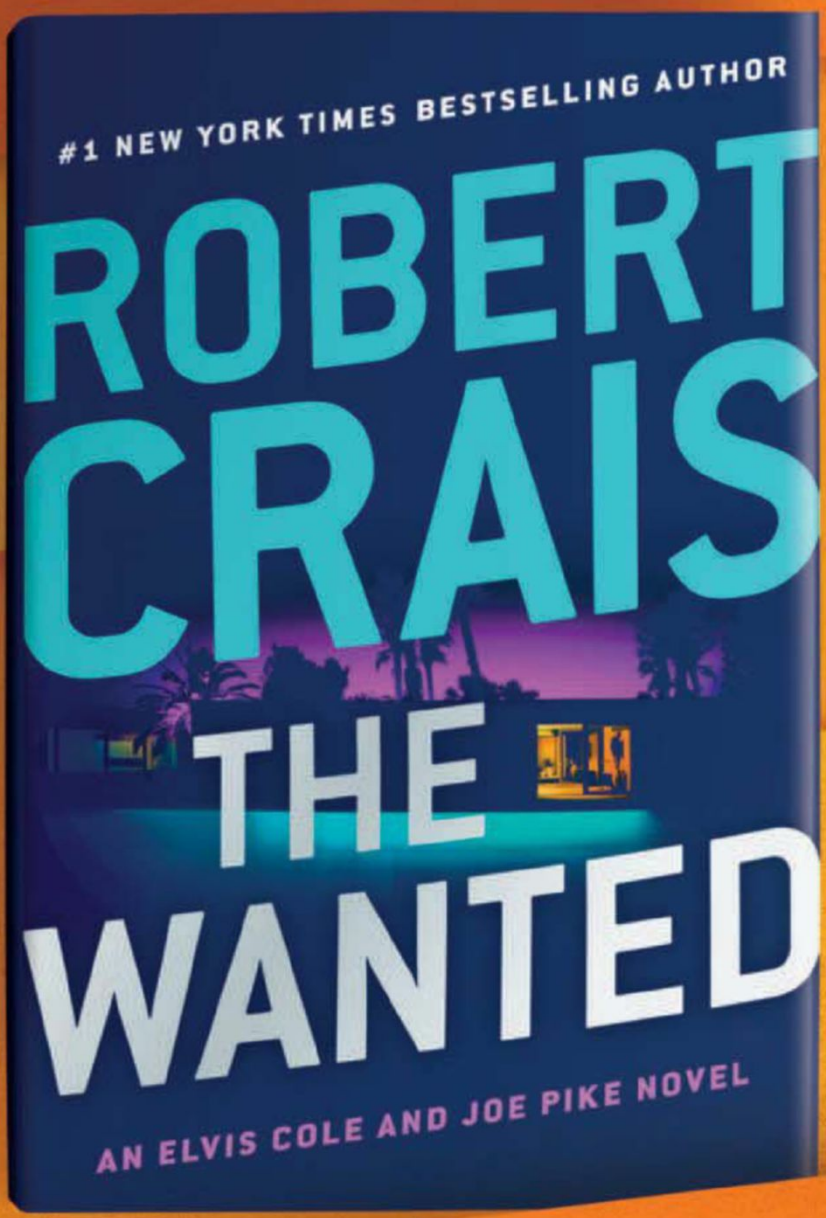

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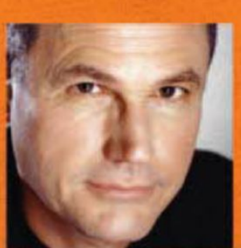

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The View

ADVICE

How to Overcome the Holiday Blues

The period from Thanksgiving to New Year's Day is supposed to be a season of joy. But some of us can barely muddle through. In collaboration with Sheryl Sandberg and her initiative OptionB.Org, which provides resources for people facing adversity, TIME asked five influential people to write about confronting grief, trauma and illness during the holidays. These contributors, including Gabby Giffords, Patton Oswalt and Robin Roberts, offer actions big and small to help find moments of cheer.

ISTOCKPHOTO/GETTY IMAGES

PHOTOGRAPH BY LADISLAV KUBES

Katie Couric: *Cherish lost loved ones while enjoying those you have*

THE WORST THANKSGIVING of my life was the Thanksgiving of 1997. My husband Jay had been diagnosed with Stage IV colon cancer about eight months earlier—on April 3, to be precise. "We will figure this out!" became my daily mantra. But by Thanksgiving, it had become clear that saying it would not make it so.

Jay was one of seven, the eldest boy and, in many ways, the go-to man of the Monahan family. We piled into our Chrysler minivan (the "Monavan") and headed to celebrate Thanksgiving with the extended clan at Jay's sister Clare's house in Darien, Conn. Clare—petite and gracious with clear blue eyes and an easy, raspy laugh—had been my go-to Monahan. She helped me balance dealing with the devastating prognosis and desperate search for a treatment while giving our daughters, then 1 and 6, some sense of normalcy.

Nearly 20 years later, when I think of that Thanksgiving, it makes me cry. My healthy, handsome, athletic husband—a college football and lacrosse player—had become thin and gaunt but was still impeccably dressed, with a tweed sports coat beneath a quilted Barbour jacket and brown leather lace-up shoes. An English driving cap sat on his head, which was hairless from chemo.

As I stared out the window of Clare's house, I saw that my vibrant, up-for-anything husband had been sidelined. Relegated to watching the mid-afternoon touch-football game seemed beyond cruel. But Jay, as always, was coaching his younger brothers and cheering his extended family on—benched, but refusing to admit defeat.

Celebrating the holidays takes on a new poignancy when someone is dying. As hard as you try, it's impossible to push away the persistent voices in your head murmuring, "This will probably be your last [insert holiday here] together as a family."

I wish I had the perfect recipe for taking away that drumbeat of fear and pain. There just isn't one. My girls provided comfort and joy. Our families and friends provided love and support. And the holidays themselves commanded us to appreciate the here and now. Christmas would come and go, and one month later, his body would collapse on the powder-room floor.

I've had 19 Thanksgivings and Christmases since my husband died. Many of them have been warm and wonderful. I now have a new husband whom I adore, who is loving and smart and so funny. I think he and Jay would have been friends. His greatest gift has been allowing me to love them both.

Jay often said that I was born on a sunny day, which I took as a real compliment. But that sunniness can also blind you to the suffering of others. No more. Ever since Jay got sick, I have been keenly aware that there are those whose holidays are far from merry and bright. They might be next to you, picking out an ornament or tying a tree on the roof of their car. They could be ordering a standing rib roast from the butcher or watching their child perform in a fourth-grade assembly or growing impatient when they can't reach their carry-on in the overhead compartment. They are all around, bravely holding on to the present and terrified about the future.

If you know them, intrude on their privacy by reaching out, even if they turn you away. If you don't know someone in this category, say a prayer for them and wish them strength and what Emily Dickinson described as "the thing with feathers": hope. And if you're lucky enough to have your health and the health of those you love, look around, soak it in and take a moment to say thank you.

Couric is an award-winning journalist and a co-founder of Stand Up to Cancer

Robin Roberts: *If illness changes your traditions, build new ones*

I ALWAYS LOOKED forward to Thanksgiving. It was never just my immediate family—my parents invited extended family, family of the extended family and whoever else was left in the neighborhood. All stragglers were welcome. My mom made the quintessential Americana Thanksgiving meal, though her prized side was a rutabaga dish that I only remember my dad eating, and not always willingly!

In November 2012, I wasn't going to make it to our home in Pass Christian, Miss. Myelodysplastic syndrome had taken away my health and deflated my holiday spirit. I had just been released from the hospital after spending 30 days in isolation following a bone-marrow transplant. My only goal was to make it to 100 days post-transplant—my survival depended on it.

During my journey to rebuild my immune system, my doctors required me to be home in New York with limited outside contact. Hand sanitizer and face masks were handed out to all visitors,

For more on these stories, visit **time.com/ideas** and **optionb.org/holidays**

Patton Oswalt: *Don't fear a holiday alone*

UGH, YOU'RE ALONE on the holidays. Every single cliché about solitude in winter pounces on you. The sun takes its sweet time heaving itself into the sky every morning and then scuttles away too quickly right after 5 p.m. Trees are skeletal against a concrete sky. Life and motion and love all seem zombified.

You see happy families scurrying, laughing. Places to go. People to see.

You've got no one.

And unlike other people, you did have someone. Someone you'd bend reality to have with you now. But they're gone, faded into the gray planet you're trapped on. It's a world that now has a bitter flavor of mocking for all of its holiday trimmings.

Can you build a spaceship and point it toward a world with a brighter sun, with more hopeful air to breathe? You can't. No one escapes the Lonely Planet.

So let me offer a radical solution: *invade the Lonely Planet.*

Be a hostile alien visitor. If the planet you're trapped on is sustained by despair and silence, then infect it with your unique, unkillable strain of joy and sound.

I am not telling you to fake happiness, or rivet a death-grin to your face. I'm giving you permission to drill your heels deeper into the swamp of sadness you're in and, from that position, to invade. To infect. To conquer.

There is peace and grace in spending the holidays alone. Take it from the veteran of many a Christmas Day spent in a half-abandoned Los Angeles. Go see a matinee and sip coffee from the only sandwich place open on the block. If you have kids, make them part of your crew. Pretend you're the survivor of a weird plague that has wiped out the population yet still leaves TV stations broadcasting and fast-food joints cooking. When you look at a holiday spent alone at the right angle, it becomes a sunlit film noir wonderland.

If you fully inhabit the half-empty city or town, I promise it will change the sadness around you. People's loneliness isn't alleviated by tit-for-tat joy. That's too easy. It's other people being alive and present that makes the dead air particles shimmer and vibrate and warm the world.

So go out and invade, in any way you can. Be alive and aware and in motion on the Lonely Planet. It won't stay lonely for long.

Oswalt is a comedian, writer and actor; his most recent stand-up special, Annihilation, *is on Netflix*

and hugs were not allowed.

In early November, I got a call from my sisters, who live down South. They were planning on bringing a small group to come stay with me and my longtime partner Amber for Thanksgiving.

At first I was hesitant. Without an appetite and my hair, I couldn't imagine gathering around the table in a festive sweater. This would also be the first holiday without my mother, who passed away a week prior to my transplant.

I felt a crushing pressure to be joyful, but all I felt was sick. I was mourning my health, and I was mourning Momma.

Thanksgiving Day came; the doorbell rang; in stormed my family. I felt instant relief—they were warm, joyful and, above all, understanding. They didn't expect me to play host or carry the conversation. They simply wanted me to know that they were there for me.

Sitting at the dinner table, I was struck with a feeling—something Momma used to say after my father died. I was feeling happy sorrow. Thanksgiving didn't have to be sad—it just had to be different. At least for a while. So, just remember: this too shall pass, but now would be good!

Roberts is a co-anchor of Good Morning America *and the author of* Everybody's Got Something

Kesha: *Care for yourself before looking after everyone else*

THE HOLIDAY SEASON is supposed to be the most festive and fun time of the year, but all those plans and expectations of joy can turn tougher and more stressful than they sound. This is especially true for those of us who struggle with mental illness.

The holidays break your routine. Sometimes you're forced to spend time with family you rarely see and don't always get along with. Or maybe you're alone when everyone else is with family. Or you're at work and can't be with those you love. Or you are off from work, with more time to think troubling thoughts. Or you are thrust into party situations that tempt your demons.

When you have a routine, it's easier to manage whatever mental struggles you may face, and when that routine is broken, it can trigger things you may not be ready to face. I know it has for me. It was during the holidays when I hit a low moment and, with the help of my mother, decided to seek help for my eating disorder.

Around the holidays, I often feel like I'm supposed to be everywhere, with everyone—all with the added guilt of knowing it's the season of giving. To fight this, I've developed a mantra: it's not selfish to take time for yourself.

Take a walk in nature. Talk to a friend you trust, or a therapist. Sit out one of the holiday gatherings in favor of some personal time. Just do whatever helps you calm down and gives you a break from the stress. Download one of the many meditation apps for your phone. I particularly like Calm and End Anxiety.

Trying to spend all of your time pleasing everyone else is not only exhausting—it's impossible. And you know what? If you take a little time for yourself, you will be much better company for those around you.

Kesha's most recent album, Rainbow, *has been nominated for a Grammy*

ROBERTS: BEN BAKER—REDUX; COURIC: ALERIE MACON—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; OSWALT: MAARTEN DE BOER—NBC/GETTY IMAGES; KESHA: MONICA SCHIPPER—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

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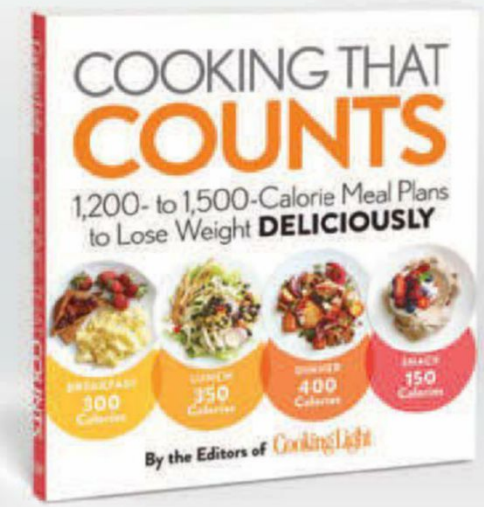

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Gabby Giffords and Mark Kelly: *After tragedy, try a simpler celebration*

WE WERE MARRIED in November 2007, right at the start of the holiday season. That first New Year's, we started a tradition: attending ambassador Philip Lader and Linda Lader's Renaissance Weekend in Charleston, S.C., where people reinvigorate themselves by making new connections and sharing new ideas. We participated pretty much every year, including in January 2011. Soon after, Gabby was shot. The year of 2011, which we had started so inspired, was the hardest of our lives.

Gabby has always loved New Year's. Before she was shot, she was one of those uber-dedicated resolution makers with a list of 10 things she wanted to achieve. But that year—and every year since—she's had one resolution: to keep fighting through her recovery.

When the end of 2011 rolled around and the anniversary of the shooting approached, we decided to go back to the conference—to get a little bit of closure. But everything had changed. Gabby's severe aphasia, a result of her traumatic brain injury, made speaking tough. She's paralyzed in her right arm and right leg, so she had difficulty moving around. These struggles remain today.

That was our last visit to Renaissance Weekend, though we'd like to go back someday. Lately, we've been doing something fun with close friends instead.

This year, we're going to Las Vegas. Another couple will join us—friends who've suffered challenges themselves. We have found that it helps to be around people who've gone through similar struggles. The wife lost her first husband, a classmate of Mark's from test-pilot school, in an airplane accident in the late 1990s. The husband has been fighting cancer. Surgery, radiation and chemo all failed. But his wife is a doctor, and not one to give up, and when he was given six weeks to live, she found an experimental drug for him to try. Now he's in full remission. It's a year out, and we're all gathering—along with their kids and ours—to ring in the New Year, and to celebrate him and Gabby.

You may find that after tragedy, traditions change. But you will also find causes for celebration and types of resolve you may not have otherwise imagined.

Giffords, a former U.S. Representative, and Kelly, a Navy combat veteran and retired NASA astronaut, co-founded the gun-violence-prevention organization Giffords

DANIEL ACKER—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES

How the Sandy Hook families give me strength, five years later

By Joe Biden

ON DEC. 14, 2012, 20 FIRST GRADERS AND SIX EDUCATORS were murdered by a gunman at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Conn. President Obama and I still talk about how that day was the saddest day we had in the White House.

Five years later, the families of the victims are the definition of character, consequence—and courage.

And I know it has taken courage. I know that no matter how long it's been since such a horrific loss, every time you talk about it, you relive it as though you just heard the news. And I know this time of year is especially hard.

Around Christmas, I remember my daughter Naomi and my son Beau, their smiles lighting up the room brighter than any tree—just as I know the Sandy Hook families imagine their children smiling the way only kids do.

What I also know is that the way to get up and keep going is to find a purpose.

But it's hard. It's really hard.

A memorial for the victims of the Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting stands outside a home in Newtown, Conn., on Dec. 14, 2013

THE REASON I am in awe of the parents, spouses and children of the victims of the Sandy Hook shooting is because they found purpose through pure courage. They started foundations and funds to honor the spirit of their loved ones and to create a more compassionate and less dangerous world. Organizations like Sandy Hook Promise, the Ana Grace Project and the Jesse Lewis Choose Love Movement are helping change the culture around gun violence in this country.

I know that feels like an impossible task.

In 2013, President Obama and I had the support of the majority of Americans—including the vast majority of gun owners—to do something to reduce gun violence. We traveled the country. We brought together victims' families, law enforcement, health professionals and faith leaders. We forged a broad and inclusive coalition that helped us enact more than 20 Executive Orders to reduce gun violence in our communities.

We came close to legislation. We ultimately came up short. But we will never give up.

Because since that December day five years ago, the Sandy Hook families' nightmare has been felt by thousands of other families in this country who have lost their loved ones in a shopping mall, a temple, a movie theater, a club, a church.

Every year, more than 30,000 people die from gun violence and suicides across the country—a statistic we would associate with war in a far-off place.

This year alone, we have witnessed mass shootings at a concert in Las Vegas, a church in Texas and schools across the country. And there are so many more lives lost because of homicides and suicides that don't make headlines.

There have been plenty of thoughts and prayers, but no new federal law. Except one that was just passed by the House of Representatives—and moved closer to the President's desk—that would make it easier to travel into another state carrying a concealed firearm.

Easier. Not harder.

It is gut-wrenching. It is disheartening. But it's all the more reason to stay engaged.

That's what we do—especially when our political process feels so broken—and how we make a difference when it seems so impossible. Success is not guaranteed. We have to demand it. We have to speak out so people never forget.

TO THE FAMILIES who lost loved ones at Sandy Hook Elementary School: for me and so many others, you are models for how to find purpose in the face of tragedy. I am in awe of your courage. And I will always be by your side—a promise I made to you and one I will keep.

Now it is time for the rest of the country to join you and show we are united, we are committed and we will never give up on the cause of ending gun violence.

Biden was the 47th Vice President of the United States and currently leads the University of Delaware Biden Institute for domestic policy

BIDEN: GETTY IMAGES; MEMORIAL: ROBERT F. BUKATY—AP/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

The last temptation of Michael Flynn

By James Stavridis

RETIRED LIEUT. GENERAL MICHAEL FLYNN'S enormous fall from grace is an object lesson in the allure of money, fame and power. His story is perhaps not quite a Greek tragedy, but rather a kind of 21st century parable with morals for us all.

Throughout my time in uniform with Mike, he was a determined, hard-edged and highly effective intelligence officer—the best ever to serve on my team personally, which he did in Afghanistan while I was the Supreme Allied Commander at NATO and the strategic commander for that mission. Both retired General Stanley McChrystal—then his immediate boss—and I would often comment on how lucky we were to have then Major General Mike Flynn on our team in combat from 2009 to 2010. How did he end up a convicted criminal, nationally disgraced, financially damaged and struggling to put his life together again?

BORN IN A MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILY, Michael Flynn was never part of the West Point aristocracy of the Army, nor was he a tactical commander in the field. He attended the University of Rhode Island in his home state and entered the Army through the ROTC route as an intelligence officer—destined not to command sweeping armies, but rather to serve as the consigliere and adviser to the warrior commanders. In uniform and especially in the field, he was widely acknowledged for his innovation, grit and competence, especially in Iraq and Afghanistan in counterterrorism campaigns.

But there are three key facts to understand about Flynn that set the stage for all that has unfolded.

First, his worldview is threat-based, like that of most senior military officers. He sees danger and hostility everywhere and is quick to judge it as well as react aggressively, often with immediate effect. This tendency to listen to the darker angels of his nature served him well in combat, less so in civilian life. It made him highly receptive to the worldviews of President Donald Trump, Stephen Bannon and others who are resolutely predisposed to look at the world through a dark lens.

Second, his background and role as an intelligence specialist led him to search for levers and keys to influencing others, especially our nation's opponents. In the Cold War, during the early part of his career, he focused on the Soviet Union and watched with fascination and satisfaction as it imploded. He observed the rise of Vladimir Putin and came to understand the emergence of new threats from Moscow. The chance to go and see Putin up close and personal must have been irresistible to him and—along with the cash—contributed to his decision to attend the infamous Moscow dinner in 2015, where he sat next to Putin, a decision I am certain he would happily reverse in retrospect. It also made him a logical candidate for the position of National Security Adviser and the conduit for some level of interaction with Russia during the presidential campaign.

Third, like all active-duty members of the military, he would never have earned a great deal. His salary would have been enough to live on, but it would not have given him a chance to build wealth for his family. Like many other senior military officers, especially those who were nationally known, upon retirement Flynn was deluged with offers from the financial world. He created a consulting company and made a series of choices about where to provide advice—something he had done throughout his military career—which led him into the orbit of Russia in ways that have caught up with him.

Thus, big money, a chance for real power and the ability to confront the nation's enemies all came into play, creating someone who left many of us shaking our heads as he led chants at the Republican National Convention of "Lock her up."

ENTERING POLITICS for any military officer is a deeply dangerous zone, because service in the military hardly prepares you for the unique cut and thrust of domestic politics. Some have done it well—think George Marshall or Colin Powell—and others have crashed and burned, from Oliver North to Michael Flynn.

Much of how his story comes out will turn on the results of special counsel Robert Mueller's ongoing investigation and Flynn's cooperation with it. Flynn has always struck me as forthright and honest at his core. He came back into government to serve his country. I believe he will do the right thing and simply tell the truth, "without fear or favor," about everything he heard and saw during his time serving President Trump. We need to know what happened, and he had a front-row seat for much of it.

Flynn called his book, published a couple years after he retired, *The Field of Fight*. He is in for the fight of his life in rebuilding his reputation, but luckily for him, this is a country built on second chances. He gave this nation great service throughout a long and distinguished military career. The choices he makes in the months ahead will tell us whether he will win this most challenging battle.

The fall Former National Security Adviser Flynn pleaded guilty in early December to lying to the FBI, admitting that he had spoken with Russia's ambassador to the U.S. about sanctions before Trump's Inauguration.

The fallout As part of the plea, Flynn agreed to cooperate with special counsel Mueller's investigation into Russia's influence operation against the 2016 election, and any cooperation between Moscow and Trump's campaign.

Admiral Stavridis is dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and was the 16th Supreme Allied Commander at NATO

FLYNN: REUTERS; TRUMP: GETTY IMAGES

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Paul Fredrick

How to raise a sweet son in an era of angry men

By Faith Salie

HOURS AFTER I GAVE BIRTH TO MY FIRST CHILD, MY husband cradled all five pounds of our boy and said gently, "Hi, sweet pea." Not "buddy" or "little man." Sweet pea. The words filled me with unanticipated comfort. Like most parents, we knew what we'd name our son but never discussed how we'd speak to him. I was witnessing my husband's commitment to raising a sweet boy.

Because this is what the world needs now, urgently: sweet boys and people who grow them.

There are so many angry men among us. There are angry women too, but they're only beginning to claim this emotion that has long been denied them. Women's public anger delivers deliberate messages—it's pussy hats, reclaiming our time and #MeToo. It's the kind of anger that gives girls voices. Men's anger tries to shut down the voices of others. Today's angriest women galvanize; today's angriest men murder.

KATJA KIRCHER—GETTY IMAGES

My son is now 5, and I'm also the mother of a 3-year-old daughter. I'm thrilled that she is growing up in a time when American girls are encouraged to be both fierce and kind, strong and compassionate. The T-shirts that declare GIRLS RULE THE WORLD offer an empirical falsehood, but at least the aspiration is there. My daughter recently delighted me when she deemed her makeshift kite—a rainbow scarf tied to a stick—a fencing foil and ran about the woods parrying and proclaiming, "En garde!" But I delighted even more in my son when, at a birthday party where the balloon artist presumptuously twisted pneumatic swords for all the boys, he asked for a balloon heart.

Boys have always known they could do anything; all they had to do was look around at their Presidents, religious leaders, professional athletes, at the statues that stand erect in cities big and small. Girls have always known they were allowed to feel anything—except anger. Now girls, led by women, are being told they can own righteous anger. Now they can feel what they want and be what they want.

There's no commensurate lesson for boys in our culture. While girls are encouraged to be not just ballerinas but astronauts and coders, boys—who already know they can walk on the moon and dominate Silicon Valley—don't receive explicit encouragement to fully access their emotions. Boys are still snips and snails and puppy-dog tails. We leave them behind from birth. Walk into any baby store and you're greeted in the boys' department by brown and neon green layettes festooned with sharks, trucks and footballs. Onesies for baby boys declare, TOUGH LIKE DADDY. The boy taught from infancy to be tough is emotionally doomed. (Mind you, I'm all for a onesie for any gender that announces, RESILIENT LIKE MOMMY.)

We don't need to raise kids with gender neutrality or deny intrinsic differences between boys and girls. We do need to recognize that children, regardless of gender, harbor innate sweetness that we, as a society, would do well to foster and preserve.

Sweet boys grow up to be men who recognize the strength in being vulnerable and empathetic. Men who aren't threatened by criticism or perceived competition from people whom they deem "other"—be it skin color, sexual orientation, religion, education or whatever. Sweet boys are children who've been given, by their parents and wider society, the permission to feel everything and to express those emotions without shame.

At a young age, this should be done explicitly, in organized forums for discussions at school. It must be done relentlessly and organically, in our family homes. Parents must invite their sons to be sad, afraid, hurt, silly and affectionate, and embrace them as often as they snuggle their daughters. Sweet boys learn early on that they can defend themselves against loneliness by reaching out and asking for support rather than turning into people who, literally, grab for power. Sweet boys evolve into openhearted men who aren't confused about consent and sexual boundaries, because they experience women as equals.

A man raised with access to the same gamut of emotions and choices as women does not say, "Women are special," as Donald Trump recently averred after disbelieving Roy Moore's accusers; he does not delegate sugar and spice and humility and gentleness to the ladies, while defining himself through anger, lust and pride. Boys will not be merely boys. If we let them, boys will be human.

Salie is the author of Approval Junkie

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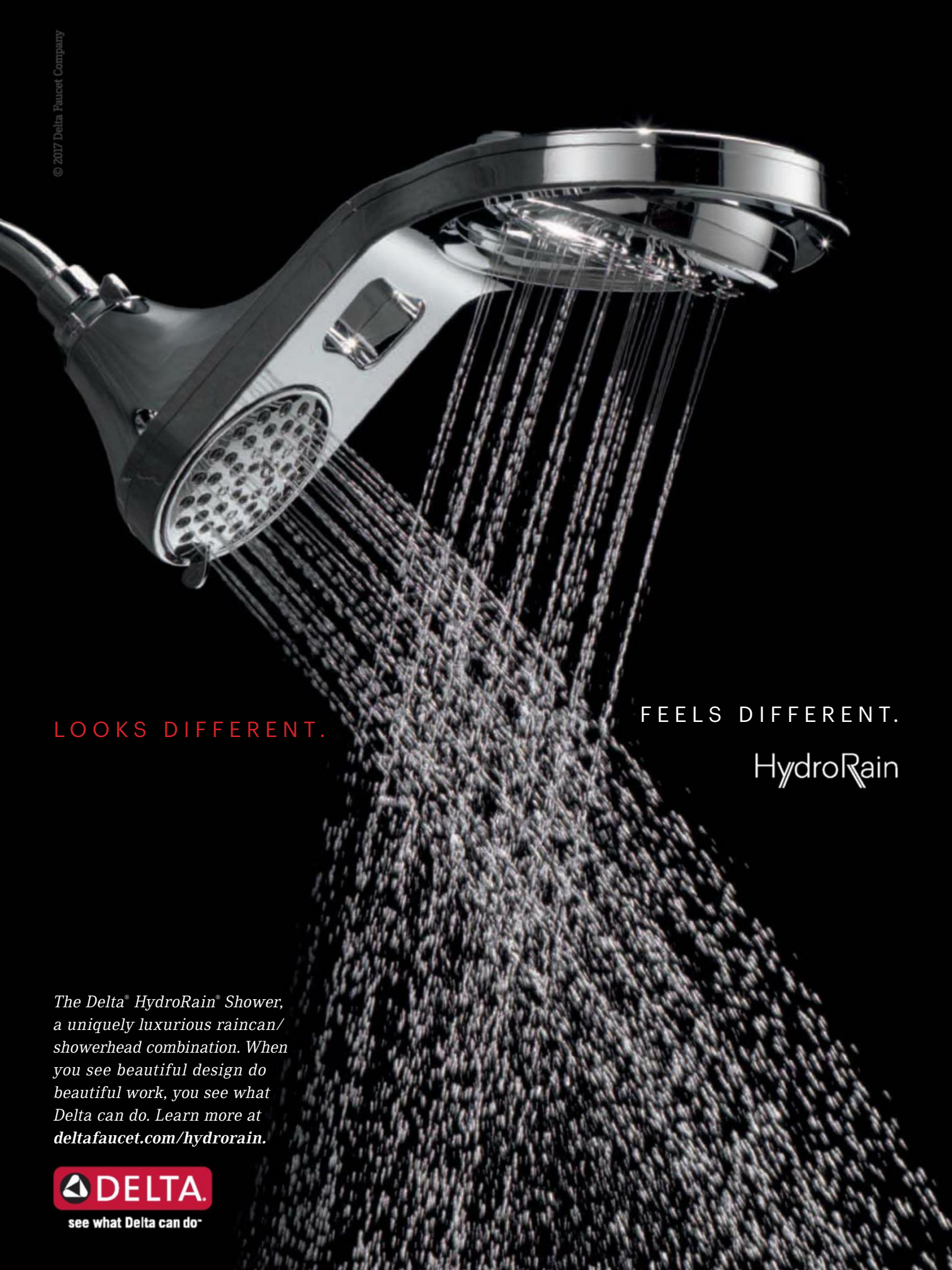

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The Year Ahead 2018

page 30

POWER

THE DEMOCRATIC WIN IN ALABAMA THAT WILL SHAKE UP 2018 • THE MASTERMIND LEADING THE GOP CHARGE • THE RADICAL PRINCE RESHAPING SAUDI ARABIA • THE SOCIALITE WHO WANTS TO RUN RUSSIA • HOT-BUTTON TOPICS TO WATCH FOR—AND MORE

page 54

INNOVATION

A CENTURY-OLD MEDICAL TREATMENT THAT'S SAVING LIVES • THE LAST CASES OF POLIO • THE NEXT PHASE IN THE CLIMATE FIGHT • THE DO-GOODER ROBOTS THAT WANT TO SAVE YOU • THE GENERATION THAT'S CHANGING WHAT IT MEANS TO GROW UP—AND MORE

page 70

CULTURE

THE MODERN GENIUS OF *A WRINKLE IN TIME* • THE OLYMPIC SKIER ON A MISSION • MEG WOLITZER'S TAKE ON FEMINISM • NEW IDEAS IN NONFICTION • THE BROADWAY STAR WITH A HISTORY LESSON • THE TV SHOWS WORTH TUNING IN FOR—AND MORE

PLUS:

ILHAN OMAR, MARTHA NUSSBAUM, TODD MAY, WHITNEY WOLFE, NEYMAR AND KEVIN KWAN ON WHAT THEY'RE LOOKING FORWARD TO IN 2018

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CHANGE IN THE HEART OF DIXIE

A SENATE WIN IN ALABAMA HAS DEMOCRATS HOPEFUL ABOUT 2018

BY MOLLY BALL/ BIRMINGHAM

Democratic Senator-elect Doug Jones celebrates his victory over Republican Roy Moore at a Birmingham hotel on Dec. 12

THE WAY THINGS HAVE BEEN GOING IN ALABAMA, SOME Democrats thought they might never taste victory again. So when Doug Jones took the stage at a Birmingham hotel after his special-election win on Dec. 12, it was hard to blame him for being briefly overcome.

"Oh, my," the state's new Senator began, as moist-eyed, joyous supporters hung on to his words. "Folks, I got to tell you, I think that I have been waiting all my life, and now I just don't know what the hell to say." As the crowd basked in the jubilation, the DJ queued up "Sweet Home Alabama," the anthem of Southern defiance. Young and old, black and white, men and women, the Democrats sang along—"Ooh, ooh, ooh"—as if to say, This is our state now.

With Jones' surprising win, the American political landscape seemed to rattle and tilt on its axis. If a Democrat could be elected in Alabama, a lot of things suddenly looked possible for the party out of power. And if the Republicans could lose in the heart of Dixie, no Republican may truly be safe in next year's midterm elections.

Jones faced an unusually weak opponent in Roy Moore, the twice-defrocked former state-supreme-court justice who was accused by several women, after winning the Republican nomination, of preying on them when they were teenage girls. But just 13 months ago, Alabama also faced a referendum on an accused sexual predator who, like Moore, struck divisive themes while seeking to discredit the media—and President Donald Trump won the state by 28 points.

Since Trump's election, something has changed in the American electorate—something far-reaching enough to flip one of America's reddest states. "Doug Jones tapped into something bigger than Democrats and bigger than Alabama," Randall Woodfin, the young, left-wing, newly elected mayor of Birmingham, told me as confetti wafted through the air. "It's a miracle. And man, oh man, do we need it."

Jones' win was powered by a surge in Democratic turnout and a steep drop-off among Republicans. Almost as many Alabamans voted for him in an off-season special election as for Hillary Clinton last year, but Moore got less than half the total Trump collected. If those trends translate elsewhere, Republicans "aren't facing a 2018 wave," says Michael McDonald, a voter-turnout expert at the University of Florida. "They're facing a tsunami."

A special election is by definition a fluke, an unusual vote under an unusual set of circumstances (in this case, the appointment of former

Jones supporters rejoice at his election-night party. The former federal prosecutor won by about 20,000 votes, or 1.5%—less than the number of write-in ballots cast

BILL CLARK—GETTY IMAGES (2)

Republican Senator Jeff Sessions to Trump's Cabinet). But in this case, it is also a symptom. The currents that swept Moore to victory in the GOP primary over Trump's objection—anti-establishment fervor, culture-war red meat—are likely to wash over the Republican Party nationwide next year. And the voters who helped Jones win exist all over America: women, young people, African Americans, suburbanites. (Jones didn't win white women or suburbanites, but he dramatically improved on Democrats' previous performance with them.) This coalition, if it turns out next year, gives Democrats a road map back to the congressional majority—and gives Republicans a reason to be fearful.

Still, it will not be easy for Democrats to repeat the feat. Jones' victory was a narrow one, with a margin of just 20,715 votes, or 1.5%—less than the number of voters who wrote in their own candidate. And while his win will cut the Republican margin in the Senate to just one seat, it remains an uphill battle for the chamber to change hands in 2018, when 10 Democrats are trying to hold on in states Trump won and just eight Republican-held seats are up in total. A year from now, Republicans may not be so divided, nor Democrats so united.

But one factor is not going away: President Trump. Alabama was the third election in as many months in which Trump's support did not help his chosen candidate. Rather, it seemed to hurt the Republican by motivating anti-Trump voters. In Alabama exit polls, just 48% of voters said they supported the President, with just as many saying they did not.

Trump has especially galvanized women, who have led a wave of activism over the past year. There was something especially fitting about Moore's alleged sexual misconduct coming to light—and helping doom his chances—at the same time as high-profile men in Hollywood, media, business and politics faced long-overdue judgment for their misbehavior. Indeed, it was no coincidence: Moore's accusers suggested they broke decades of silence because they thought they might finally be heard. Yet on the same day the judge was defeated, Trump was feuding in sexually suggestive terms with Democratic Senator Kirsten Gillibrand. The Twitter spat presages the defining political dynamic of 2018.

THE WOUNDS OF THE PAST run deep in Alabama, and they aren't all fully healed. After Jones left the stage, I spoke to Patricia Gaines, a petite, elegant 78-year-old in dark lipstick. She grew up in Selma, she told me. Her father was a local minister who offered communion to black people. That angered the local Ku Klux Klan, who came on horseback to threaten them. The family fled in the middle of the night. With her father out of work, Gaines entered beauty pageants to put herself through college and was crowned Miss Alabama.

That was in 1961. Traumatized, Gaines never again set foot in Selma—until Election Day, when she traveled to her hometown to give black voters rides to the polls. "Today the tide started to turn away from the insanity we have been living through," she told me, her eyes teary. "It is time for a return to decency, love and compassion."

To many Alabamans, Moore represented none of those things. The Scripture-spouting firebrand rode his Tennessee walking horse, Sassy, to the polls on Election Day, a cowboy-hatted embodiment of the nostalgia animating many of his devotees. The press, cast by Moore as a member of the political opposition, scattered in front of him as he rode. But they, along with Jones and the Democrats, weren't the only enemies Moore perceived: he was also taking on the Republican establishment in its ongoing war with the party's angry base.

Long before he became known as an alleged pedophile, Moore had drawn the ire of national Republican leaders for his controversial politics. He was thrown off the bench for refusing to take down a giant Ten Commandments monument, and then again for refusing to abide by the federal decision legalizing same-sex marriage. He has argued that Muslims should not hold office, that gay sex should be illegal and that American life was better during slavery, because it was a "time when families were united." Moore might have been a particularly exotic specimen, but he wasn't the first insurgent conservative to campaign against Republican Senate leader Mitch McConnell, and he won't be the last. (Just 16% of the voters in Alabama said they approved of McConnell.) Many Washington Republicans feared that a Moore win would be worse than a loss, tainting the party with swing voters while empowering the far right.

A larger fear loomed over the race for both sides: What if the Trump-style playbook that Moore borrowed worked? The political theory of Stephen Bannon, the President's former strategist, is that tribal grievance is more powerful than tired policies, that you can move more voters with "Lock her up!" and "Build the wall!" and "Fake news!" than with the kitchen-table issues that campaigns are typically built on. And so Moore and his allies distributed appeals about preserving Confederate monuments, players kneeling at football games and dangerous criminals registering to vote. The Republican gubernatorial candidate in Virginia, Ed Gillespie, took a similar tack last month. If either had won, Trump's divisive tactics might have become the 2018 campaign blueprint for countless candidates.

That was a frightening prospect to both the traditional Republicans whom Bannon has vowed to drum out of office and the Democrats who worried that they would find themselves on the losing side of this culture war. But Moore's defeat suggests that Bannon may have led Republicans into an ideological dead end, with a platform that's irresistible to a hardcore base but poisonous to almost everyone else. The worst-case scenario for the GOP is a future in which only Moore-like candidates can win primaries, embracing positions that prompt Democrats to mobilize and defeat them.

Moore was accused by several women of sexual misconduct but maintained the support of Trump, Bannon and the Republican National Committee

On the eve of the Senate election, Bannon traveled to the state to deliver the message himself. The night was dark and chilly; Alabama had just received an unusual winter snowstorm. But inside a newly built barn-cum-wedding venue on a farm in a remote part of Dale County, Bannon warmed up a couple hundred Moore supporters beneath a giant crystal chandelier. Outside, a green tarp festooned with branches, dried moss and toy alligators was meant to evoke the "swamp" that Moore vowed to "drain."

'Today the tide started to turn away from the insanity we have been living through. It is time for a return to decency, love and compassion.'

PATRICIA GAINES, a Jones supporter who drove voters to the polls in Selma, Ala.; it was her first trip to the city since the Ku Klux Klan drove her family out in 1961

The election, Bannon proclaimed, was a good-and-evil showdown between "the Trump miracle and the nullification project." Of the GOP establishment, he said, "They're trying to get you to shut up." But, he added, "they couldn't beat Trump because they couldn't beat you … it's the deplorables, it's the hobbits, it's the silent majority."

Accompanying Bannon was an ad hoc supporting cast, the army with which he intends to invade the GOP. There was Corey Stewart, the once and future Virginia candidate who nearly won a gubernatorial nomination on a platform of Confederate nostalgia; Paul Nehlen, who is trying (for the second time) to take down House Speaker Paul Ryan in Wisconsin, and who recently told a columnist to "eat a bullet"; and candidates for office in Texas, Missouri and Indiana. Together, they are Bannon's agents of chaos. Bannon is betting that Moore's loss, which came after Beltway Republicans abandoned him, has only hardened the base's anger at party elites.

Moore himself was not a Bannon creation, but rather an ally of convenience. Like Trump, he became

Bannon's battering ram against the hated establishment. Next year, the strategist hopes to mount primary challenges against nearly every sitting Republican Senator. He is already backing far-right, pro-Trump candidates in Arizona and Nevada. And he remained defiant in the wake of Alabama. "McConnell made this about himself and his hold on power, when it should be about the people who elect Republicans," Bannon told me. "He is toxic, and his toxicity ensures his demise."

Bannon's blueprint relies, in part, on an audience that doesn't believe anything the mainstream media reports, no matter how credible or damning. Moore categorically denies engaging in sexual misconduct . This imperviousness to disagreeable facts—a quality seemingly shared by the man in the White House—was evident among Moore's backers. "I think it's a horrible thing that they have done to him, saying these things that they can't absolutely prove," said Ann Kennedy, a 72-year-old attendee at Moore's rally, referring to the allegations that he preyed on underage girls when he was in his 30s. I asked her who "they" were. She thought about it and said, "Probably [billionaire liberal donor George] Soros."

IT REMAINS an open question what effects the shock upset in Alabama will produce. Jones' hope, he told me, was that the race meant things were going to change. It was the day before the election, and he was bounding tirelessly from place to place. Jones can seem dour and bland in ads and news clips, but in person he has a bouncy energy and a quick laugh. He's not flashy, but he seems to know who he is.

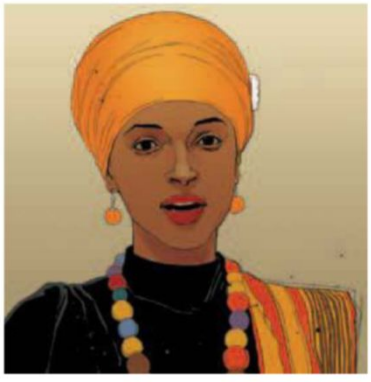
I asked Jones why he had embarked on a seemingly doomed campaign. "I just felt like the timing was right in this state for some people to have a voice that I knew had not felt they had had a voice in the past," he told me. "The only way to guarantee that you can't win is to not run at all."

Jones was serving as the U.S. Attorney for northern Alabama when, in 2000, he brought charges against two men who had never been prosecuted for their involvement in the 1963 bombing of a Birmingham church that killed four young black girls. (Martin Luther King Jr. gave a memorable eulogy for the girls; J. Edgar Hoover declined to take up the case.) Jones presented a never-before-heard recording of Thomas Blanton Jr., one of the suspects, telling his wife, "You have to have a meeting to make a bomb." A granddaughter of the other bomber, Bobby Frank Cherry, testified that he had boasted about having "helped blow up a bunch of n-ggers back in Birmingham." Jones put them both in jail.

Jones hoped his election would strike a blow for reason, for coming together, for rising above partisanship. "A lot of people are just concerned that we have reached fever pitch in the partisan divide," he said. "It's real easy to get people whipped up into a frenzy by preying on their fears." In the campaign, he spoke the language of bipartisanship, vowing to try and work with Republican Senators and even Trump. At the same time, he aggressively courted the resurgent left. When activists affiliated with the Birmingham chapter of Indivisible, the national grassroots Trump-resistance organization, staged a five-day, round-the-clock protest against the proposed health care bill at their Senators' local offices, Jones showed up—in the rain—to lend his support. The Senator-elect is in favor of legal abortion, LGBT rights and Obamacare, and he opposes the tax-code rewrite that Republicans are pursuing in Congress. Jones' first priority in Washington, he said, would be to fund the Children's Health Insurance Program, which the current Congress has let expire. In Alabama, 150,000 children depend on the program.

The dogged candidate's long-shot victory was powered by a skilled, well-financed campaign that focused on voter mobilization and turnout. While Moore virtually disappeared in the waning days of the race, the Democrat's team logged millions of voter contacts. The upscale, Republican-leaning suburbs where Jones drew crucial crossover votes were blanketed with his campaign signs.

This approach provides a road map for other Democrats to make gains in hostile territory. Zac McCrary, an Alabama-based pollster who surveyed the race for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, said Jones showed that Democrats can run centrist campaigns without demoralizing their hardcore base. "At the elite level, you see the Democratic Party tying itself in knots with ideological spats" between the left and center, he said. "But those divisions don't seem to have any impact on turnout." It was the Democrats' most loyal and active voters, noted Valerie



A HOPE FOR 2018

ILHAN OMAR

Politician

I plan to keep building bridges of understanding in Minnesota, and throughout the U.S., to bring us closer together. As I get to know people everywhere in our state, I see kindness and generosity, and a willingness to seek understanding and acceptance of what makes us who we are. In these times, there are so many people looking for ways to fight for a more just, loving, peaceful world united in diversity. By introducing myself as the first Muslim, or the first refugee, or the first woman of color that some of these communities have met, I hope to break down more barriers, have meaningful conversations and bring us together to take on the greater effort to build shared prosperity for everyone in America.

Omar, the first Somali-American Muslim to become a legislator, is a Minnesota House Representative

MOORE: JIM WATSON—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; OMAR: ILLUSTRATION BY PHIL NOTO FOR TIME

Supporters at Jones' election-night headquarters watch as the early returns roll in on Dec. 12

Jarrett, a former senior adviser to Barack Obama, that paved the path to victory. "It looks like women—and particularly African-American women—made the difference," Jarrett told TIME.

The left's new grassroots leaders are coming from outside the Democratic Party apparatus. The Birmingham Indivisible group's most active members include a suburban housewife, young Black Lives Matter activists, a pediatrician and a plumber and his wife from a rural area outside the city, according to its leader, an effusive 57-year-old named Carole Griffin. "They're my favorite protest buddies, because they're not afraid to yell," she says. About two-thirds of the members are women.

Griffin and I were chatting a few doors down from Jones' Birmingham headquarters, in the back of the Magnolia BBQ & Fish, where pictures of Obama and George W. Bush—but not Trump—decorated the walls. The smell of smoked meat filled the air, and an urban radio station played on the speakers. Between songs, a deep-voiced man backed by jazz piano warned that "Roy Moore wanted to keep the Jim Crow language in the Alabama constitution … Make sure everybody in your family votes." (The ad was sponsored by Highway 31, a super PAC funded by national Democrats that, according to the Center for Responsive Politics, spent more than $5 million on Jones' behalf.) Griffin, who owns a French bakery in town, had always been progressive but was quiet about it, not wanting to alienate her customers. Trump's election motivated her to speak out. Now she was helping to mobilize voters for the campaign in conjunction with the liberal organization MoveOn. "I was in despair about being a progressive in Alabama," she says. "Now I realize nobody knew where to find me!"

Jones' election, Griffin argues, was no fluke. It was the product of a movement that had been building for some time. It was the product of a Republican Party gone haywire and a Democratic Party that was getting off the sidelines. It was a product of a changing Alabama: in Cullman, a historic Klan outpost an hour north of Birmingham, she had attended a Young Democrats gathering hosted by a gay-rights activist and a drag queen. "We're not like that stereotype of us," she says. "There is something happening." After years of political disappointment, Griffin says, "it's given me hope."

It's people like Griffin—activated, protesting, eager to defy stereotypes—who have given the Democrats hope. Only a year after the party's epic defeat, they're changing the political map. Alabama may be only the beginning.

—With reporting by KATY STEINMETZ/SAN FRANCISCO □

NICOLE GRAINE—GETTY IMAGES

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From a royal wedding to the trial of El Chapo in Brooklyn, and from Canada's legalizing weed to women finally being permitted to take the wheel in Saudi Arabia, here are 23 of the events that will shape the world in 2018—plus, a whimsical look at the year to come

ON THE MOVE

1. ROYAL NUPTIALS

Prince Harry and Meghan Markle will wed at St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle *(May 19)*. Markle, an American, plans to become a British citizen afterward.

2. PAPAL PRESENCE

Pope Francis will make an apostolic journey to Chile and Peru *(Jan. 15–21)*, and although it is not yet confirmed, he is expected to visit Ireland for the World Meeting of Families *(August)* and Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia *(fall 2018)*. U.S. President Donald Trump also has international travel plans, having accepted an invitation to visit Singapore *(date TBD)*. He may also go to London *(early 2018)*.

3. MONEY TALKS

Business and political leaders will come together at the World Economic Forum in Davos *(Jan. 23–26)* and World Economic Forum on Latin America in São Paulo *(March 13–15)*. Later in the year, the World Bank Group and the IMF will have their annual meetings *(Oct. 12–14)* and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Economic Leaders' Week will occur in Papua New Guinea *(Nov. 12–18)*.

4. GROUP GATHERINGS

Peru will host the eighth Summit of the Americas *(April 13–14)*, the G-7 summit will convene in Charlevoix, Quebec *(June 8–9)*, and the NATO summit will be held in Brussels *(July 11–12)*. The U.N. General Assembly will convene in NYC for its 73rd regular session *(Sept. 18)*, and Argentina will host the G-20 in Buenos Aires *(Nov. 30–Dec. 1)*.

ON TRIAL

5. COSBY

After a jury failed to reach a verdict on sexual-assault charges against Bill Cosby in June, the comedian's retrial is set to begin in Norristown, Pa. *(April 2)*

6. EL CHAPO

Mexican drug lord Joaquín "El Chapo" Guzmán, who has twice escaped from prison in Mexico, will stand trial for drug trafficking and conspiracy in Brooklyn. *(April 16)*

7. MANAFORT AND GATES

Former Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort and his business partner Rick Gates are expected to stand trial on charges including conspiracy against the U.S. and money laundering. *(spring 2018)*

ON THE BOOKS

8. MARIJUANA

Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau plans to legalize marijuana *(July)*. South of the border, recreational marijuana will be legal for sale in California *(Jan. 1)* and Massachusetts *(July)*.

9. TRANS TROOPS

Transgender military recruits can openly enlist *(Jan. 1)*, per a court order—unless the Trump Administration appeals the decision beforehand. In August, a presidential memo instructed the Department of Defense to discharge transgender service members, not accept transgender recruits and not fund sex-reassignment surgeries; two federal judges responded by ordering the military to allow transgender troops.

10. SOLAR PANELS

Trump must decide whether to impose a tariff on foreign solar panels *(Jan. 26)*. A tariff would be a blow to the solar-installation industry and a boon to domestic panel manufacturers.

11. WOMEN DRIVING

Saudi Arabia will allow women to drive, ending a long-standing ban. *(June 24)*

12. ABORTION

Ireland will hold a referendum on whether to ease a constitutional ban on abortion *(May or June)*. The country has some of the most restrictive abortion laws in Europe.

13. SCOTUS

The U.S. Supreme Court will decide cases on gerrymandering, mandatory union fees, how the Fourth Amendment applies to cell-phone records and more before the term ends *(June 25)*. The new term will begin on Oct. 1.

Clockwise from left: Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau; Prince Harry and Meghan Markle; Pope Francis; Meg Whitman

AND 7 THINGS THAT PROBABLY (WE HOPE) WON'T HAPPEN

1. Having gained the ability to read faces—a feature introduced in Apple's most recent launch—the iPhone X starts to feel sad once it sees how it has disappointed everyone.

2. Mars and Earth will be the closest they've been in years on July 31—until, when talking about looking for water elsewhere, Earth takes exception to being called "thirsty."

3. The Brexit negotiations conclude, but the portmanteaus live on; people call it Brexciting, which is Brexcruciating.

4. Once calorie counts become mandatory on many more restaurant menus in the U.S., dieters opt to just eat the menus instead; they claim the ink "adds zest."

5. After spraying a mist of sun-reflecting chemicals into the sky to see if the process helps stop global warming—an idea researchers are hoping to test in Arizona in 2018—scientists admit that, yes, it was actually just confetti and glitter, and you weren't invited.

6. After the World Cup is held in Russia, Robert Mueller's investigation gets even bigger as he senses it was a little strange that Donald Trump won.

7. It turns out we have to do 2017 all over again.

—Nate Hopper

Harvard's Drew Gilpin Faust *(left)* is out; Jerome Powell may be in as Fed chair

ON THE TOP

14. NEW FED CHAIR

Once confirmed, Jerome Powell will begin a four-year term as the new chair of the Federal Reserve. Janet Yellen, the current chair, will leave the Fed board. *(Feb. 3)*

15. CEO CHANGE-UPS

Meg Whitman will step down as CEO at Hewlett Packard Enterprise, with Antonio Neri taking over *(Feb. 1)*. Kenneth Chenault, chairman and CEO of American Express since 2001, will depart *(Feb. 1)*. The CEO of Swiss pharmaceutical maker Novartis, Joseph Jimenez, will be replaced by Vasant Narasimhan *(Feb. 1)*.

16. PARTY LEADER

Northern Ireland politician Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein party leader, will step down after over 30 years at the helm of a group once regarded as the political wing of the Irish Republican Army. *(early 2018)*

17. UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT

After 11 years, Harvard University president Drew Gilpin Faust will leave her post *(June 30)*. She was the first woman to hold the position.

ON WATCH

18. WOMEN'S MARCH

On the one-year anniversary of the marches that brought together millions of people across the U.S. and around the world, the organizers of 2017's Women's March are launching a national voter-registration tour with "Power to the Polls," an event in Las Vegas. *(Jan. 21)*

19. PROBABLY "STRONG"

Trump will tell the U.S. how the nation is doing in his first State of the Union address. *(Jan. 30)*

20. OUR LISTS

TIME will name the annual TIME 100 most influential people *(April)* and Person of the Year *(December)*. *Fortune* will reveal its *Fortune* 500 list *(June)* and Most Powerful Women *(October)*.

21. AMAZON HQ2

Amazon will pick a city for its new headquarters after receiving 238 bids from across North America *(date TBD)*. The e-commerce giant says HQ2 will offer 50,000 high-paying jobs.

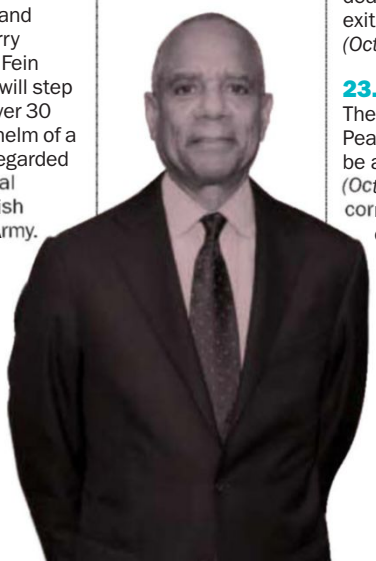
22. BREXIT DEAL

The chief negotiator of the European Union has set a deadline to strike a deal on the U.K.'s exit from the E.U. *(October)*

23. THE BIG ONE

The Nobel Peace Prize will be announced *(October)*. The corresponding ceremony will take place, as always, on the anniversary of Alfred Nobel's death. *(Dec. 10)*

—Merrill Fabry



Kenneth Chenault, CEO of American Express, will retire

WORLD ELECTIONS
7 RACES TO WATCH

Mexico will pick a new President on July 1. Corruption scandals, anemic growth and drug-related violence have boosted support for veteran leftist Andrés Manuel López Obrador.

Brazil will vote on Oct. 7, with hopes to turn the corner after economic doldrums and spiking crime following the impeachment of former President Dilma Rousseff.

Nicolás Maduro has vowed to seek re-election as President of crisis-wracked **Venezuela** in 2018, although whether a vote will be free and fair, or will even happen, is anyone's guess.

Egypt will vote around April. Exiled former Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq has announced his intention to unseat President Abdul Fattah al-Sisi, who is expected to seek a second term.

General elections must be held in **Pakistan** by Sept. 3 following the judicial ouster of pro-U.S. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. Former cricket captain Imran Khan is leading the main opposition charge by courting the nation's Islamists.

Cambodia will vote on July 29 against the backdrop of a serious crackdown on democracy and free speech. Strongman Prime Minister Hun Sen has locked up rivals in a worrying lurch toward outright dictatorship.

Elections are due to be held in neighboring **Thailand** in November, according to its ruling junta. Unrest around the vote is a distinct possibility in the politically riven kingdom.

—Charlie Campbell

AKIHITO: KIYOSHI OTA—EPA/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; IPHONE: APPLE; TRUDEAU, PRINCE HARRY AND MARKLE, WHITMAN, POPE FRANCIS, FAUST, POWELL: GETTY IMAGES

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AREA 8.95km² / 3.45mi² (3 Districts)
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ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX EBEN MEYER FOR TIME

EDUCATION

Student-loan borrowers await debt relief

BY ABIGAIL ABRAMS

WHEN CORINTHIAN COLLEGES AND ITT Technical Institutes collapsed in 2015 and 2016, respectively, after allegations of fraud and misleading marketing, it seemed like a moment of reckoning for the for-profit college industry. Tens of thousands of students were left with no degrees or those not worth the paper they were printed on, plus millions of dollars in student-loan debt. President Obama's Education Department passed regulations aimed at streamlining the process to forgive loans taken out by defrauded students.

Relief has yet to arrive. Nearly 100,000 student-loan borrowers with billions in total debt from an array of mostly for-profit schools are still waiting for their accounts to be cleared, and the process put in place to help them—known as "borrower defense to repayment"—has ground to a halt. The Education Department has the authority to discharge defrauded students' federal loans, but 11 months into the Trump Administration, not a single claim has been approved, and just two have been denied.

Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos announced in June that her department would rewrite the Obama-era rules, saying they were unfair to students and schools, and left taxpayers with a hefty bill. After another delay, the new regulations will now likely go into effect in July 2019. "Fraud, especially fraud committed by a school, is simply unacceptable," DeVos said in June. "Unfortunately, last year's rulemaking effort missed an opportunity to get it right."

Advocates for student borrowers disagree. "There is a general sentiment of frustration with the fact that we're doing this again," says Will Hubbard, a member of both last year's and this year's rulemaking committees who represents the interests of student veterans.

Reports have circulated this fall that the Education Department is considering offering partial rather than full debt relief for some applicants based on how much harm they suffered. But even students who show success—like securing employment—were still harmed, says Toby Merrill, director of Harvard University's Project on Predatory Student Lending. "Our clients are very smart and hardworking," she says. "When people are succeeding in spite of a really terrible thing that happened to them, we shouldn't look at that and say, 'Well, the thing must have not been so bad.'"

The Education Department recently said it will begin adjudicating the backlog of claims "very soon." For borrowers whose claims are denied, it will forgive any interest accrued on unpaid debts starting one year after the claim was filed. Still, with the rule's renegotiations continuing into 2018, it's unclear when borrowers like Jarrod Thoma, a 34-year-old former U.S. Army corporal, will know the fate of their looming debt.

Thoma graduated with a bachelor's degree from DeVry University in 2015 and has been waiting on his claim for more than two years. He says his degree from the for-profit college actually hurt his job prospects and that with $52,000 in student loans, his family will struggle to afford his loan payments if his claim is denied. (DeVry did not respond to requests for comment.) "Under the current Administration, I really feel like my claim is worthless," Thoma says. "There are a lot of [people] in my situation. There has to be a sense of urgency." □

FLASH POINTS

3 ISSUES TO WATCH

The coming year will bring significant changes for everyone from retirees and so-called "Dreamers" to corporate executives.

IMMIGRATION

With the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, or DACA, program set to end in the spring, nearly 800,000 young undocumented immigrants could be eligible for deportation—and those who missed President Trump's fall renewal deadline will lose protection even sooner. Democrats and some Republicans want to find a solution before the end of the year, but lawmakers are running out of time to strike a deal.

MERGERS

Expect another year of high-profile corporate couplings. Experts say the U.S. economy is more consolidated than at any other point since the Gilded Age. As the backlash builds, politicians may try to crack down on what some see as an uncompetitive atmosphere.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Social Security beneficiaries will see the highest cost-of-living adjustment in six years. Plus, they'll get a raise in earnings limits, and the disability-income threshold is set to increase. On the flip side, the full age of retirement is going up by two months, which means retirees born in 1956 will have to wait until they are 66 years and four months old to claim their full benefit. For those who want to delay claiming Social Security, this also means less time to boost their monthly benefit before they hit the cap at age 70.

—*A.A.*

CORRY BLISS HAS A PLAN TO SAVE THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY

BY PHILIP ELLIOTT/ OMAHA

THE GOP'S INSIDE MAN

Bliss and the Congressional Leadership Fund plan to spend $100 million to keep the House under Republican control

PHOTOGRAPHS BY WALKER PICKERING FOR TIME

THE SUN HAD SET ON THE NORTHWEST SIDE OF Omaha, and the Christmas lights had come on when a carload of young political canvassers pulled up in front of a brick house in the tony neighborhood known as Champions Run. The activists, some of them still in high school, checked the app that picked their specific political targets and hustled to the front door to make their pitch for GOP Representative Don Bacon. Their talking points focused on Bacon's service as an Air Force brigadier general and wing commander at nearby Offutt Air Force Base, and his support of the Republicans' tax-cut package."Did you vote for him last time?" one of the super PAC's volunteers cheerfully asked the voter, who greeted the visitors on his front steps. It was 341 days before the 2018 midterm elections.

Welcome to the campaign to keep Congress in Republican hands. The effort to save Bacon's seat started all the way back in March. While it may seem early for canvassers to be knocking on doors, House Republican leaders believe control of the chamber will come down to the battle to win over a small number of key voters in about 30 districts. And so they have entrusted the $100 million effort to protect the party's majority to a hard-charging 35-year-old strategist with a brusque manner and a knack for winning tough races. "There are more of us than them," Corry Bliss explains about Bacon's district as he rides back from the door-knocking outing to the offices of the Congressional Leadership Fund, the super PAC he runs with the blessing of House Speaker Paul Ryan. "We have to make sure they vote next year."

History suggests he's right to worry. Over the past 100 years, first-term Presidents' parties have lost ground in the House in every midterm election but two, dropping an average of 35 seats in those bad years. Democrats need just 24 seats to retake control and, for now, all the momentum is on the left. The scale of the task is one reason that Bliss' operation is already active in 21 of the tightest races, from Modesto, Calif., to Key West, Fla. Bliss is betting a targeted early start, combined with out-of-the-box thinking, military discipline and a different political playbook, can keep Republicans in power.

'I've never seen something as organized as this.'

JON TUCKER, Douglas County, Nebraska, GOP chairman

Many in the GOP are banking on Bliss, who has earned a reputation in some GOP circles as the party's top campaign mind—and perhaps its next Karl Rove. "If anyone could build a breakwall [against a Democratic wave], it's Corry," says Mark Isakowitz, a Bliss pal who recruited him to manage Senator Rob Portman's 2016 campaign. But Bliss' strategy of going into districts so early with person-to-person persuasion has met more than a few skeptics, including from his own party. "When we announced at the beginning of the year that we were going to do this, the reaction was strong," Bliss recalls of his plans to start knocking on doors 18 months before voters tuned in: "'That's stupid. That's a waste of money.'" Bliss pauses. "These are also the same people who said Donald Trump wouldn't be President." But even he says the odds are against him.

TWO WEEKS BEFORE his trip to Omaha, Bliss was perched in his corner office on Pennsylvania Avenue, which has views of the White House complex. As he spoke, he tapped the floor with a baseball bat etched with WONDERBOY, a souvenir he picked up at the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, N.Y., and a nod to the 1984 film *The Natural.* "History says we have no chance," Bliss says of the GOP's midterm prospects. "It's our job to defy history."

Bliss has always been good at calculating his chances. He was born into an upstate–New York horse-racing family—his father is a breeder; his mother and sister are accomplished riders—and he grew up going to the famous track in Saratoga Springs, N.Y. He treats politics like a day at the races: he works the numbers, studies the field and then goes with his gut. "There's a lot of luck in horse racing [and] a lot of luck in campaigns," Bliss says. A lot of times, he says, "You'd rather be lucky than good."

As a political-science major at Boston University, Bliss cared more about the winner's circle at Suffolk Downs than any campaign. He only caught the politics bug for good as a law student at the City University of New York. "I went to a very liberal law school," he told a group of young volunteers inside

THE BATTLE FOR THE HOUSE
3 RACES TO WATCH IN 2018

NEBRASKA's 2nd District
Republican Don Bacon is chasing a second term in the least conservative part of the Cornhusker State. In 2016, the former high-ranking military officer was the only Republican nationwide to defeat a Democratic incumbent in a congressional race, and both sides expect a tight contest next year in the Omaha-area district that Bacon carried by 3,464 votes. Bliss's super PAC has already been on the ground in Nebraska for 10 months.

TEXAS's 23rd District
Republican Will Hurd represents this vast and sparsely populated swath of West Texas. Hurd is fighting history; he is the fourth Congressman to represent the district since the 2006 election, and he would be the first to win a third term since 1996. A former CIA officer, Hurd won by just 3,051 votes in 2016, while Hillary Clinton carried the district, which is about 70% Hispanic, by 4 percentage points. Trump's comments about immigrants will haunt him in this district, which shares more than 800 miles of border with Mexico.

CALIFORNIA's 10th District
This stretch of the Golden State's Central Valley has trended toward the GOP but is still seen as a toss-up on both parties' 2018 maps. Republican Jeff Denham, an Air Force veteran and almond farmer currently in his fourth term, barely carried the district in 2016, and Clinton bested Trump here. Democrats will try to link Denham to Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric. —*P.E.*

the Congressional Leadership Fund's Omaha office. "Dealing with a liberal administration drove me nuts, and it made me very conservative."

Bliss cut his teeth in state legislature fights in Virginia and a governor's contest in Vermont. Then came Senate races in Connecticut and Georgia. In 2014, Bliss was with his in-laws in Williamsburg, Va., when his phone rang with a request: go to Kansas and take control of the flagging re-election campaign of incumbent Senator Pat Roberts, who was on the outs with voters, in part because of revelations that Roberts no longer lived in the state. No one in Kansas, including the Senator, was impressed when Bliss arrived in a place where he'd never set foot, summoned the Roberts family and shared with them the reality: the third-term Senator was in trouble. "No one likes your father," Bliss told Roberts' children, who didn't take kindly to it. "The good news is even fewer people like [then Senate Democratic leader] Harry Reid."

Bliss is nothing if not blunt. "Corry has no bedside manner, but you don't really care if you need CPR," says a Bliss ally with close ties to Republican leadership. "Corry is the guy we send in when it's all falling apart." During a session to prepare Roberts for a debate that first weekend, Bliss asked to see the Senator's prep book. The strategist took one look, shook his head and tossed it into the garbage. Then Bliss, who had been on the ground less than a day, walked into the office reception area, found a computer that was not password-protected and typed out a one-page cheat sheet: at every opportunity, Roberts should refer to his opponent, a former Democrat who was running as an independent, as either a Reid sycophant, a Barack Obama yes-man or a Democratic Party stooge. Roberts eked out a win by less than 92,000 votes.

This is another page in the Bliss playbook: find a bogeyman and make the race a referendum on that person. Earlier this year, with Democrats on the verge of winning a special election for a House seat in the conservative Atlanta suburbs, Bliss was again dispatched to work his magic. He arrived with $7 million in hand and proceeded to turn the Democratic nominee, a telegenic 30-year-old named Jon Ossoff, into a proxy for Democratic minority leader Nancy Pelosi, who is loathed by many Republicans. "I don't know what I'd do without her. She's central to next year," Bliss says of Pelosi. "You can have Speaker Ryan or you can have Speaker Pelosi. It's chicken or steak. Fish is not on the menu."

This approach—and everything Bliss does, really—drives his political opponents bananas. To Democrats, the fact that Republicans had to scramble to save a Georgia seat that had been in Republican hands for almost four decades says more about their own rising fortunes than the GOP's defensive abilities. "They're trying to salvage some of these incumbent seats, but the reality is they can't and they won't," says Charlie Kelly, Bliss' counterpart at the super PAC backed by Pelosi and her lieutenants, House Majority PAC. "They want to talk about Nancy Pelosi, but it won't be effective because Paul Ryan is the single most unpopular politician in the country." Consider the Nebraska district where Bliss is working to protect Bacon.

Bliss visits his super PAC's field office in the Omaha district of Representative Don Bacon to ensure volunteers are connecting with voters. Unlike other outside groups, Bliss has focused on the ground game instead of airing attack ads

A recent survey by Public Policy Polling, a Democratic firm, found Ryan with a 62% disapproval rating among voters there, higher than Trump's 54% disapproval numbers.

For Bliss, none of this matters so far out from next year's elections. What counts are the relationships his troops are building at voters' front doors. Unlike many super-PAC bosses, who often get a cut of the advertising spending, Bliss has little use for pricey media campaigns at this point in the fight. Instead of lining his own pockets by airing commercials, he plans to spend his cash reaching out directly to voters, who are weary of ads. "Super PACs are a legalized Ponzi scheme for consultants to build beach houses," Bliss says. "We're going to focus on winning."

Tapped to run Portman's 2016 reelection campaign when the Senator was nine points down, Bliss recruited tens of thousands of high schoolers and college students to knock on doors and make phone calls to help Portman—more than a year before voting began. Historically, the Republican National Committee takes charge of that task, albeit much later. But Bliss didn't have much confidence in the RNC's will or capacity. So he built his own data, technology and get-out-the-vote machine. He also advised Portman to ignore Trump. "Everyone wanted to talk about the drama and soap opera of the presidential campaign," says Isakowitz, who has been Portman's chief of staff since 2014. "We talked about what Rob had done for Lake Erie, for the opioid crisis." When Trump accepted the party's nomination in Cleveland, Portman scheduled a counter-convention focused on Ohio voters and veterans. In the end, Portman carried Ohio by 21 points, outperforming Trump by 13.

NOT EVERYONE inside the GOP is a fan of Bliss's methods. When Ryan wanted to tap Bliss to run House Republican leadership's super PAC and affiliated think tank, he met resistance from high-ranking members of the GOP establishment, including Reince Priebus, the former RNC chairman and Trump's first White House chief of staff. Ryan, who raises cash for this project, ignored the objections. Since Bliss—and many of his Portman deputies—took over the super PAC, there has been a 100% staff turnover and a new approach that focuses on doors, not ads. "He understands how to win races," says Representative Mimi Walters of California, a Bliss friend who has helped him raise cash.

Bliss's take-no-prisoners style can make enemies too. He has little tolerance for Republicans who aren't team players. When GOP Representative David Young of Iowa wavered on supporting Ryan's plan to scrap Obamacare earlier this year, Bliss shut down an already-leased office to help Young's re-election bid, the group's second in the country. "We will never spend a dollar attacking a Republican. However, there's a bias in this organization toward friends and family," Bliss says. "If he didn't support the Speaker and the President, we couldn't support him."

In some GOP circles, Bliss has a reputation as the party's top campaign mind—and perhaps its next Karl Rove

And some question whether his approach can scale to the national level. It's one thing to burrow into a single race and turn it around. It's another when the entire country is your map, the goal is to secure 218 Republican seats in the House and you can't speak directly to the candidates about the nitty-gritty of the campaign because of campaign-finance laws. "You have a super PAC that is trying to talk to voters with high school kids, and is funded by a guy who is incredibly unpopular," says Dan Sena, who runs House Democrats' official campaign arm. Already, the Democrats are planning to contest 91 races, putting Bliss on defense.

But so far in this election cycle, Bliss's approach, with his in-house team of data nerds, researchers and lawyers, has drawn raves in places like Bacon's Omaha district. "I've never seen something as organized as this," says Jon Tucker, chairman of Nebraska's Douglas County Republican Party. "All of these contacts are going to show up at the polls and vote for other Republicans."

At the same time, Bliss isn't above some of the more traditional approaches to political warfare. His super PAC's partner, a nonprofit think tank that he also runs, the American Action Network, is providing $30 million in TV ads to push the GOP tax cuts. And Bliss's super PAC itself will eventually get into the ad game next year. Bliss is already amassing a trove of research about his Democratic opponents for use in those air wars.

The 2017 campaign of Democrat Rob Quist was a vivid illustration of how brutal Bliss can be when he unearths a damaging nugget. Last summer Quist, a folk singer turned upstart political candidate, was mounting a surprisingly strong bid in a special election for Montana's sole U.S. House seat. Bliss' research team uncovered Quist's 1994 testimony in a medical-malpractice lawsuit, which revealed Quist had contracted herpes. Bliss says he leaked the testimony to conservative media outlets, which posted stories that took Quist off the campaign trail at a critical moment. "The point is to win," Bliss says. "Politics is like sports for adults … I live for the fight."

Last year, as he was sketching out the groundwork for the GOP's midterm firewall, Bliss took a rare break. He rented a house in Saratoga Springs and bet on every race for a week. He struck out on the last contest—a costly loss in an otherwise winning week. He shrugged it off, lit a cigar and walked the mile and a half back to his rented home. He still left the track with more money in his pocket than he arrived with. If Bliss can beat the 2018 odds and deliver a similar string of wins next fall, it will have been the young oddsmaker's talents—and a bit of good luck—that saved Paul Ryan's grip on the Speaker's gavel. ◻

SAUDI ARABIA'S CROWN PRINCE IS UPENDING THE OLD ORDER

BY JARED MALSIN

POWER BEHIND THE THRONE

At 32, Mohammed bin Salman is the most powerful Saudi royal in decades

PHOTOGRAPH BY LUCA LOCATELLI

CALL HIM THE FORTUNATE SON. IN THE space of a year, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman has become the most powerful Saudi ruler in decades. His rise marks the unraveling of royal traditions and a new level of uncertainty in a region already threatened by crises. Since its founding in 1932, the kingdom had been led by a monarchy that was conservative in outlook and cautious in politics, and refrained from military adventures abroad.

Those days are gone. When King Salman took the throne in 2015, he appointed his untested son Mohammed to the positions of Defense Minister and deputy crown prince. Then, this past June, the King disrupted the line of succession to place him next in line for the throne. From then on, the son appeared to be in charge of everything, no matter his stated title. And all before he turned 33.

The economy? It was Mohammed bin Salman who announced a plan to raise billions of dollars by selling shares of the national oil colossus Aramco as part of a wider effort to diversify the economy.

Foreign affairs? Shortly after the prince took charge of defense, Saudi Arabia launched its largest-ever military intervention, in neighboring Yemen. In June, the kingdom imposed a blockade on its Persian Gulf rival, Qatar.

Society? In September, the crown prince reversed a rule barring women from driving, ending an embarrassing symbol of patriarchy. Public entertainment like concerts are now encouraged. In December, the government lifted a decades-old ban on movie theaters.

In a country where 45% of the population is age 25 or younger, the crown prince prefers to appeal directly to the Saudi public, casting himself as a reformer even as he centralizes power and quashes political dissent. An illustration now circulating among Saudis on social media shows Mohammed bin Salman standing over a desk, conversing with the late founder of the kingdom, Abdulaziz ibn Saud, the grandfather he never met. To supporters of the crown prince, the image suggests the blessing: an almost messianic figure presiding over a new founding moment.

Judging by his actions so far, Mohammed bin Salman envisions a Saudi Arabia that is economically viable, socially less suffocating, but also intolerant of political challenges. "It is a crackdown. It is reform. It is a game changer. It is all of them together," says Jamal Khashoggi, a leading Saudi columnist living in self-imposed exile in the U.S.

The crown prince's baldest power play came over the November weekend that he detained hundreds of elite Saudis, launching a crackdown on alleged corruption. He later told the New York *Times* that roughly 10% of government spending had been skimmed each year. But seasoned observers understood the detentions to be a power grab. "He has rolled up alternatives to his authority," says Chas Freeman, a former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia. The crown prince's personal excesses also undermine his claim that he is cleaning up corruption. In December, Mohammed bin Salman was revealed by the *Wall Street Journal* to be the buyer behind a record $450.3 million bid for a 500-year-old Leonardo da Vinci portrait. A Saudi official denied the report.

The crown prince's attempts to consolidate power at home have extended to picking fights with neighbors, especially Saudi Arabia's archrival, Iran. For almost 40 years, the two countries have engaged in a regionwide contest for power, fighting mostly through proxies. Recently, the Saudis have not been doing well. Iranian-allied President Bashar Assad has all but won in Syria, where Saudi Arabia supported rebels. Lebanon, which is dominated by Iran-backed Hizballah, resisted when the Saudis tried to force the resignation of its Prime Minister in November. The Iran-backed Houthi movement is lodged in Yemen, where more than 10,000 civilians and fighters have died since Saudi Arabia launched a campaign of airstrikes in 2015 and followed up with a blockade that has stifled the flow of aid to the country.

Meanwhile, the Saudi sanctions on Qatar have managed to generate sympathy for the wealthy emirate, which had offended the Saudis by dealing diplomatically with Iran and Islamist groups. In August, the U.S. sent retired Marine General Anthony Zinni, a onetime commander of U.S. Central Command, to Riyadh to offer to mediate a resolution. He got nowhere. "He seemed very confident, very determined," Zinni told TIME of the crown prince. "He felt Qatar maybe had not suffered enough."

NEXT YEAR COULD be pivotal for Mohammed bin Salman, as he is expected to set a date for the plan to sell 5% of Aramco. Much rides on its success, after the crackdown on elites spooked potential foreign capital. Investors may also be concerned by the continuing restrictions on freedom of speech. In September, authorities arrested high profile Sunni clerics, including some who had called for democratic reforms. Still, he will get a chance to prove his commitment to reforms as women take to the roads in June—a move that has encouraged some of his former critics. "He is genuine about really changing the country," says Manal al-Sharif, a leading activist in the movement for women's right to drive.

But 2018 is likely to be just the start. After he takes the reins from his elderly father, Mohammed bin Salman could rule the kingdom for a generation. Top officials in the royal court say no plan is in the works for the ailing King to abdicate, a step unprecedented in Saudi history. Besides, he may prefer to rule alongside his father for some time, with the King providing a degree of political cover as he continues to transform the kingdom completely. The fortunate son has only just begun. □

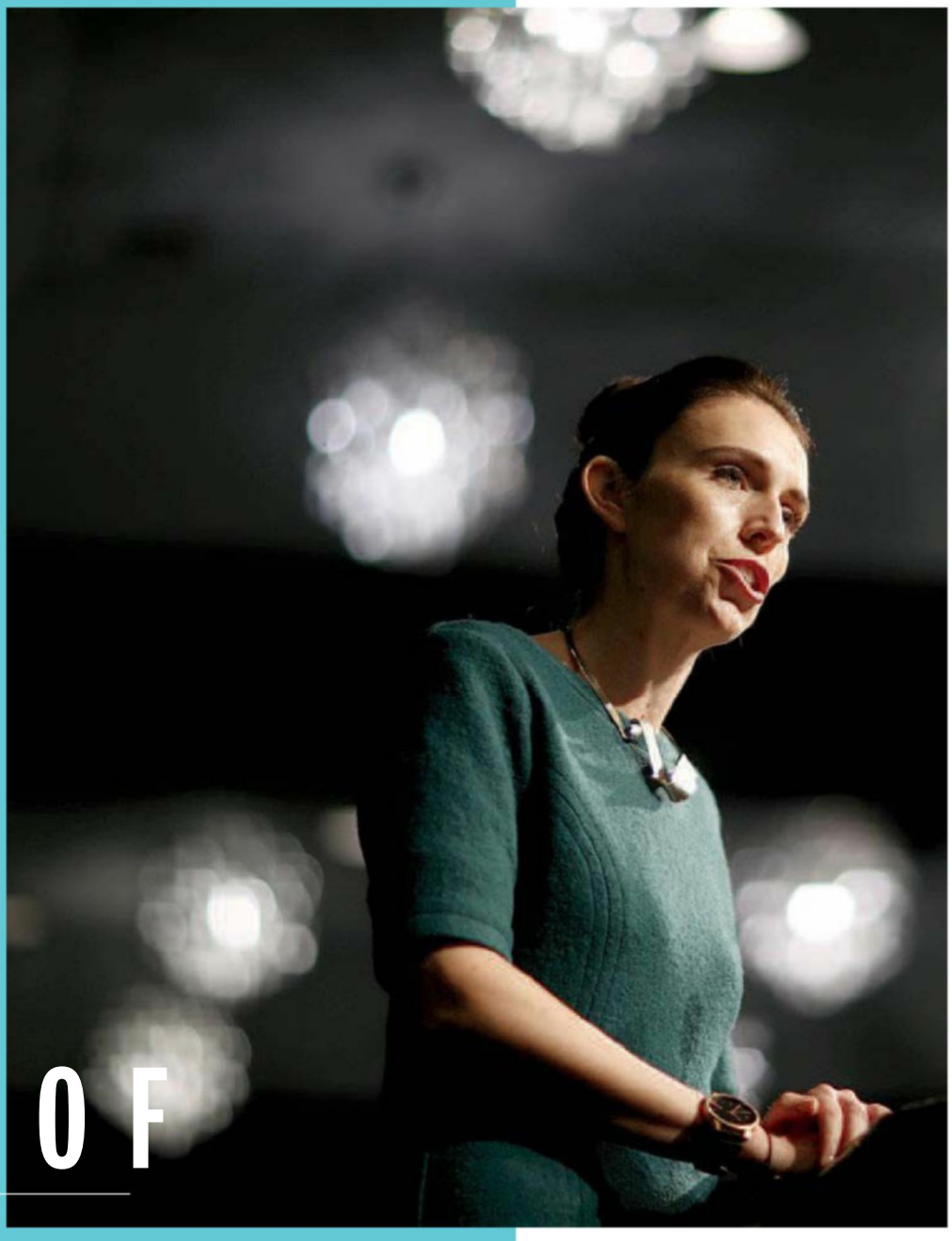
'It is a crackdown. It is reform. It is a game changer. It is all of them together.'

—**JAMAL KHASHOGGI**, a leading Saudi columnist

THE WORLD'S YOUNGEST FEMALE LEADER WANTS TO MAKE NEW ZEALAND GREAT AGAIN

BY CASEY QUACKENBUSH AND LIAM FITZPATRICK / WELLINGTON

THE AGE OF JACINDA



Ardern's quick wit and humility won over New Zealanders. Now the hard work begins

PHIL WALTER—GETTY IMAGES

THE EXECUTIVE WING OF NEW ZEALAND'S parliament is nicknamed the Beehive, and there has been a new buzz about it since Oct. 26, when Jacinda Ardern, 37, became the world's youngest female leader. On the shelves of her Cabinet room, a 19th century edition of William M. Thayer's *Women Who Win* is proudly displayed. Ardern knows something about that. She tells TIME of her desire to "give [women] a sense of hope that there is a path, that you can find yourself in these wonderful situations."

That Ardern's path took her to the prime ministership vindicates the power of that kind of hope. What comes next is hard, as this center-left leader manages a fragile alliance with her country's far right—a balancing act that could provide lessons for the rest of a politically polarized world. More pressing will be the needs of the 4.7 million people of New Zealand, a country seen from the outside as an Eden—it was the filming location of *The Lord of the Rings*—but one grappling with harrowing problems.

For the haves, the quality of life is superb, but not for the have-nots. New Zealand has the worst homelessness in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, shocking levels of child abuse and a heavily polluting agricultural industry. Such problems would test a veteran, never mind a neophyte. But New Zealand's bountiful image, Ardern says, is one "I want to restore. We're incredibly proud of who we are as a nation."

Ardern's political star power was evident on the campaign trail. She famously confronted a male radio host who quizzed her about her baby plans, handily dispatching the gender bias female leaders so often face. Still, her Labour Party managed only to come in second in September's election. The center-right National Party came first, but was five seats short of a majority. The balance of power was held by the far-right party New Zealand First, whose leader, Winston Peters, stunned the country by throwing his support behind Ardern. Peters, a gruff 72-year-old, took the dual role of Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

Defenders of the arrangement argue that it's a pragmatic partnership, with Peters' experience balancing Ardern's youthful iconoclasm. They make an odd pair, however; she is a sometime DJ who promised free higher education during the campaign. He opposes LGBT rights and once said New Zealand was becoming "an Asian colony." Making the coalition work will be Ardern's "greatest challenge," cautions Jennifer Curtin, a politics professor at the University of Auckland.

IF ARDERN IS GOING to meet that challenge, she'll need the kind of scrap that got her this far. She was born in Dinsdale, a suburb of Hamilton on New Zealand's northern island, and raised as a Mormon. Although she left the church in her 20s—reportedly because she was unable to reconcile its values with her belief in marriage equality—she says now "the service element of the church really informed who I am."

Her upward trajectory was steep. She graduated with a politics and communications degree, and went to work for Prime Minister Helen Clark in New Zealand and for Prime Minister Tony Blair in the U.K. She entered parliament at 28. Within nine years, the high schooler whose peers had voted most likely student to become Prime Minister made good on that prediction.

'There's not a public, private or political persona. There's just Jacinda.'

—**GREGORY FOUNTAIN**, one of Ardern's former high school teachers

"That's New Zealand," Ardern says simply of her unexpected rise.

But the challenges loom. New Zealand's child-abuse problem is tied up with a methamphetamine crisis and a youth suicide rate that is the highest in the developed world. And much of that is driven by the homelessness issue. The average cost of a house in the capital, Wellington, rose 21% last year to $410,000. Auckland, the biggest city, is the fourth most expensive one in the world for housing. Homeownership has hit record lows. "Housing and drugs and abuse are all connected," says Quentin Tuwhangai, 50, an addiction counselor in the city of Whanganui.

Chinese investors and wealthy American survivalists, bankers and techies are generally blamed for the real estate run-up, but there are no registers of overseas owners, so little is certain. That hasn't stopped Ardern from unveiling legislation to bar foreigners from buying homes. She also pledged to halve immigration from a record high of 72,000 in 2017. Such policies may disappoint her more liberal followers, but to Ardern—descended from mostly Scottish immigrants—they are about preserving the safe-haven aspect of New Zealand. The country, she says, cannot "offer a false dream to those who make an extraordinary effort to come here."

Next year will provide an indication of what she can deliver. Ardern has set herself a 100-day plan to improve housing conditions and welfare as well as to legalize medical marijuana. Globally, she has pledged to lead the fight against climate change and is attempting to make her presence felt in trade—she reversed her party's recent objections to the Trans-Pacific Partnership and claimed to have won concessions for New Zealand during a recent round of negotiations. She also held her own when meeting U.S. President Donald Trump at a November summit, teasing him by saying, "No one marched when I was elected."

The world is just getting to know a leader so devoid of pretense that she took a bus ride home from her inauguration. But that may make the introduction easy. "There's not a public, private or political persona," says Gregory Fountain, one of Ardern's former high school teachers. "There's just Jacinda." □

THE GIFT REPORT

What to give the world's top leaders for 2018

BY IAN BREMMER

WHETHER YOU'RE A TYRANT, A wannabe or a has-been, (almost) everyone deserves a gift for the holidays. Here are a few select recipients and the presents that will see them through 2018.

Top of the list is North Korea's **Kim Jong Un,** who we'll give a burger with Donald Trump. Let's see what happens. Maybe these two men can come to an understanding. But "Rocket Man" gets no cheese until he promises to stop firing ballistic missiles.

Russia's President **Vladimir Putin** needs a time machine to take him back to March 2014, so he can stop at Crimea. Look at his poll numbers: the bump topped out when Putin added Crimea to the trophy case. The continuing fight in Ukraine's eastern provinces has brought him nothing of value. He'll be re-elected in March, but given the state of Russia's economy, it won't be long before he's pining for a return to simpler times.

In Germany, Chancellor **Angela Merkel** gets to unwrap a coalition partner. She knows how to lead a government, but she's not someone who enjoys political limbo.

France's President **Emmanuel Macron** gets nothing. You know he wants euro-zone reform, collective European defense and restored French influence in North Africa and the Middle East. But he got enough presents in 2017, and we shouldn't spoil this kid.

British Prime Minister **Theresa May** will find a dignified departure in her stocking. Rarely is an incoming leader dealt a such a terrible hand—but she hasn't played it terribly well.

Turkey's President **Recep Tayyip Erdogan** has almost certainly asked for the head of exiled cleric and favorite bogeyman Fethullah Gulen, but let's just get him a nice pair of socks.

When it comes to China's President **Xi Jinping,** I'm stumped. What do you get for the man who has everything?

Here's hoping Venezuela's President **Nicolas Maduro** finds a one-way ticket to Havana under the tree.

Someone get U.N. Secretary-General **António Guterres** world leaders who recognize that the U.N. can help them accomplish important things they don't want to do on their own.

Let's give U.S. President **Donald Trump** a year abroad. Travel broadens the mind, and he sure is treated better in Asia and the Middle East than at home. That home-and-away approval gap is sure to widen in 2018 as the Russia investigation comes ever closer.

All special counsel **Robert Mueller** needs, meanwhile, is time. □

A HOPE FOR 2018

MARTHA NUSSBAUM

Philosopher

Happiness, for me, has the shape of a daily life with many parts. What I look forward to in the coming year is that multifaceted dailiness, with work and writing, exchanges with my colleagues and students, exercise, singing and, above all, time with the people I love. I look forward to my colleagues' new work, my friends' good health and happiness, my students' new ideas, my daughter's work as an animal-rights lawyer. How great to feel that life goes on unbroken.

Nussbaum is a philosopher who teaches in the Law School and Philosophy Department at the University of Chicago. Her new book, The Monarchy of Fear, *is due in July.*

ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX EBEN MEYER FOR TIME; PORTRAIT BY PHIL NOTO FOR TIME

Q&A

The Russian socialite taking a run against Putin

BY SIMON SHUSTER

Ksenia Sobchak, the Russian journalist, socialite and reality-TV star, plans to challenge Vladimir Putin for the presidency during the elections set for March.

Do you even believe these elections will be free and fair? No. An election is not just throwing ballots in a box. It requires candidates to have equal access to the media, to campaign on equal terms, to hold debates. All of that is missing in Russia. So we cannot consider these elections fair in any case.

Plus, only Putin can decide whether to put your name on the ballot. Why would he do that if you actually pose a challenge? Such guesswork only leads to paranoia. The most important thing is to fight on, to try to do everything possible for them to let me run. That means gathering signatures, campaigning nationwide. That's what I can do. What I can't do is influence their decision.

But you did meet with Putin before announcing your decision to run. What did you talk about? I came to see him for another reason: to interview him for a documentary film. After the interview I told him about my decision to run, and his reaction led me to believe that he is not happy with that decision. His exact words were, "This is your choice. Like any Russian citizen, you have the right to do that. But you also have to understand the full weight of responsibility that comes with that choice."

'I told him about my decision to run, and his reaction led me to believe that he is not happy with that decision.'

Sounds a bit like a threat. Did you take it that way? Not really. It struck me as a very formal answer, but I don't think he liked my plan.

Your father, the late mayor of St. Petersburg Anatoly Sobchak, was Putin's boss in the 1990s. They were close friends. Does Putin act warmly toward you, like an uncle or a godfather, because of that friendship? I can't feel that. We don't communicate. The President doesn't ride the subway. He doesn't buy bread at my local bakery.

VALYA EGORSHIN/NURPHOTO—GETTY IMAGES

Well, you did meet him at events commemorating your father. Yes, but my mind was elsewhere at the time. I was not really thinking about how Putin feels toward me.

Many in the Russian opposition have called you a Kremlin puppet whose role is to give these elections an air of legitimacy. How do you intend to convince voters that that isn't true? For intelligent people it's clear enough who spreads these rumors, who benefits from them and why they are used against me. It's so clear that explaining it to people is beneath my dignity.

Are you saying it's the Kremlin that makes you out to be a Kremlin puppet? Well, of course! They endlessly spread these rumors. They congratulated me two minutes after I announced my candidacy. Then a whole set of strange people threw their hats into the ring, clearly to diminish the value of my campaign. Intelligent people have long learned to discount these cheap Kremlin schemes.

In March and June the opposition leader Alexei Navalny, who is also seeking to run for President, organized massive street protests against government corruption. Why didn't you join them? This was not my crowd. I still supported them, because if people are ready to take to the streets, that's good. But I have spent so much time protesting in the streets over the years that I know it will not solve our problems. It's much more useful to unite people around a simple possibility: to go and vote for what they think is right.

Navalny will almost certainly not be allowed to run, and his supporters will likely take to the streets during the race. How will you react if these protests get violent? Listen, in our country, just about anything can end in bloodshed. And the blame for that will be on the authorities. If these will be officially permitted protests, then I will support them. But I don't go to protests that don't have the state's permission, because they end in provocations, either from the authorities or the protesters. That's not fair. But that's the reality.

innovation

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SCOTT CHIMILESKI AND ROBERTO KOLTER

THE WAR ON SUPER BUGS

HOW A FORGOTTEN 100-YEAR-OLD THERAPY IS SAVING LIVES

BY ALEXANDRA SIFFERLIN

These bacterial colonies were grown in petri dishes at the Kolter Lab at Harvard Medical School. Many species of bacteria have evolved to become superbugs, which can be lethal

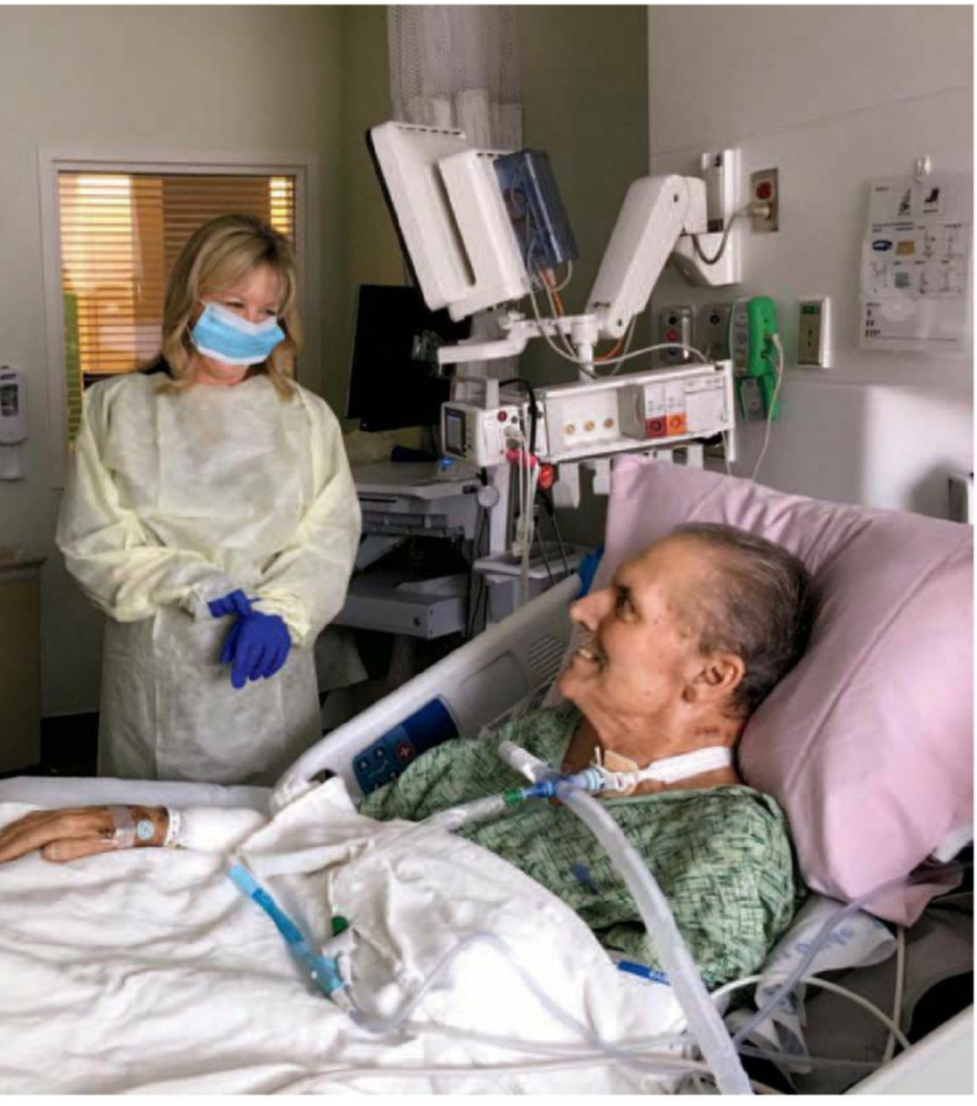
ON THE EVENING OF NOV. 7, STEFFANIE STRATHDEE SENT out a cryptic tweet: "#Phage researchers! I am working with a team to get Burkholderia cepacia phages to treat a 25 y old woman with CF whose infection has failed all #antibiotics. We need lytic non-lysogenic phage URGENTLY to find suitable phage matches. Email if you can help!" The message was retweeted nearly 400 times.

To the average social-media user, the tweet might as well have been written in another language, but to those who know Strathdee, it was a rallying cry. Strathdee is the associate dean of global health science at the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), and she's part of a small but growing community of scientists advocating for an experimental treatment for superbug infections. The treatment, called phage therapy, uses bacteriophages, which are tiny viruses that appear to have an uncanny ability to destroy some of the most lethal strains of drug-resistant bacteria. The treatment is not without controversy, however.

The young woman Strathdee was trying to help was Mallory Smith, a 25-year-old in critical condition at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center. Over a decade earlier, possibly during one of her many hospital stints as a cystic-fibrosis patient, Smith had acquired a drug-resistant *Burkholderia cepacia* infection. For a while, her doctors thought they could control it with antibiotics, but the bacteria kept fighting back, growing ever stronger in her lungs. They went to extreme measures to rid her of the infection, even performing a double lung transplant, but the bacteria had also migrated to her sinuses. After her surgeries, the bug came back in full force.

Desperate to save his daughter, Mark Smith went looking for an alternative. He stumbled on a news article about how an infectious-disease expert named Steffanie Strathdee almost lost her husband Tom Patterson to a superbug infection. At Strathdee's urging, her husband's doctors tried to cure him with an experimental treatment in which viruses are used to target and kill drug-resistant bacteria. It sounded almost too simple to be plausible. But ultimately, phage saved his life.

After reading about this remarkable turnaround, Mark sent Strathdee an email, prompting her viral tweet.



Tom Patterson and Steffanie Strathdee visit John Willson, who received phage therapy in May at the University of California, San Diego. Mallory Smith, right, received the therapy at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center in November

PREVIOUS PAGES: HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL (9); ABOVE: JOLYNN WILSON BROWN; RIGHT: JACOB JONAS

Within a week, a lab in Maryland confirmed it had identified a phage virus that might be able to kill the bacteria. The scientists packed up the phages and sent them to Pittsburgh. They arrived at the hospital on Nov. 14 at about 6 p.m.

"I want phage to work," said Mallory's mother Diane Shader Smith from her daughter's bedside in early November. "But even if it doesn't, we need to shine the light on this treatment."

Every year in the U.S., at least 2 million Americans are diagnosed with an infection that doesn't respond to antibiotics, and according to conservative estimates, 23,000 of them will die from their infections. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention acknowledges that these figures are likely an underestimate: hospitals are not required by the federal government to report the number of superbugs they encounter, and death certificates rarely mention them directly (instead, complications from other ailments are often cited). Experts caution that the day is not far off when a paper cut or an ear infection turns lethal. Economists predict that by 2050, as many as 10 million people per year will die from drug-resistant infections.

"This is a crisis," says Ry Young, director of the Center for Phage Technology at Texas A&M University, which studies phage treatments for superbugs. "People are completely unaware of the danger we are in."

Indeed, the scope of the threat posed by superbugs remains poorly understood by the general population, despite the fact that the World Health Organization calls superbugs an imminent threat to human health. What's more, there isn't much hope on the horizon when it comes to new drugs. "There are no new antibiotics coming, and if they do come, bacteria tend to develop resistance to the drugs within a year," says Young.

The paucity of treatment options is fueling interest in phage, which some researchers are calling a critical weapon against the kind of infections that threatened the lives of Mallory Smith and Tom Patterson. For now, however, phage is not widely available in the U.S. Only a handful of people have received it, and it requires special clearance, because it isn't yet approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA). Before phage can go mainstream, the science needs to catch up—which experts are hopeful will happen in 2018, when a number of trials will kick off in the U.S. If the science bears out phage's promise, it would be life altering—and life saving—for the millions of people around the world who contract superbug infections every year.

PHAGES ARE THE MOST ubiquitous bacteria fighters on the planet. Scientists estimate that there are over 10 million trillion trillion phages, which is more than any other organism in the world. Phages work by injecting their DNA into bacteria cells, where they rapidly replicate, causing bacteria to burst open and die. What's special about phages is that for the most part, each strain attacks only a specific

kind of bacteria that they've evolved to kill, which means phages provide a more personalized approach than, say, broad-spectrum antibiotics, which target a wide range of bacteria—even the good kind. Despite the elegance of the treatment, the Western medical community had all but abandoned it until very recently.

Discovered by Frederick Twort in England in 1915 and Félix d'Hérelle in France in 1917 (there's debate about who was truly first), bacteriophages were used in the U.S. and around the world to treat infections throughout the 1920s and '30s.

Even back then, however, the treatment was divisive in the medical world. "From the very discovery of phage, this field has seen personal attacks, disputes of priority, massive egos and international politics," wrote Dr. William Summers, a medical historian at Yale University, in a 2012 paper on phage. "All of these are part of the rocky history of phage therapy."

When mass production of antibiotics took off in the 1940s and '50s, doctors moved away from phage and embraced the drugs. Today more than 266 million antibiotic prescriptions are written in the U.S. per year.

In the last century, scientists in Eastern Europe continued to use phage, but in the U.S. it fell out of vogue, developing a reputation as being an unsafe and clunky treatment. Modern phage researchers say that's because when phage therapy was first used in the U.S. 100 years ago, other aspects of science were too poorly understood. (This was, after all, before the discovery of DNA.) Still, the reputation stuck. Today people who want to try phage therapy are required to get what's called an "emergency investigational new drug" application from the FDA indicating that they are out of other treatment options and are very sick. That's how Strathdee's husband Tom Patterson was able to try it.

In late 2015, Strathdee and Patterson, a professor of psychiatry at UCSD, were celebrating Thanksgiving in Egypt when Patterson became violently ill. Diagnosed with pancreatitis, Patterson was flown for treatment to Frankfurt, where physicians discovered that he was infected with a deadly superbug called *Acinetobacter baumannii*. Patterson was given potent antibiotics and eventually got the green light to travel back home to San Diego.

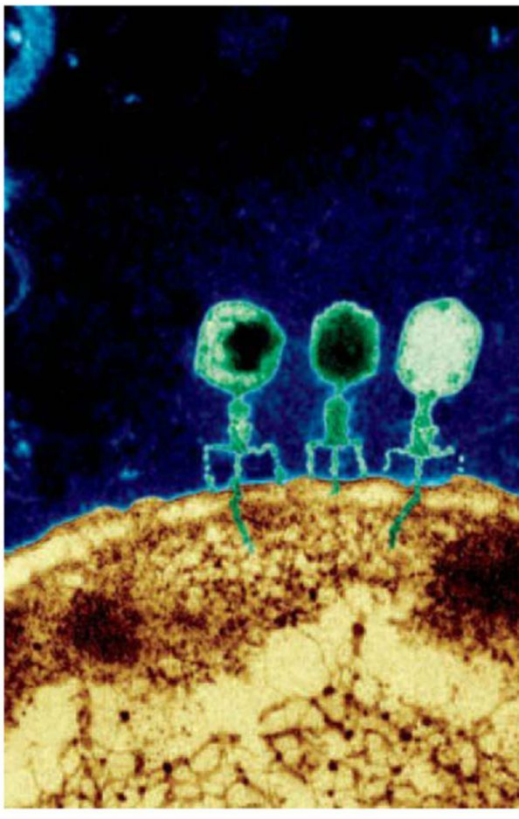
Patterson was put under the care of several doctors, including his friend Dr. Robert "Chip" Schooley, a professor of medicine in the division of infectious diseases at UCSD. "Tom was as sick as he could be," says Schooley. "He was either going to die or we were going to come up with something very different."

As an infectious-disease expert, Strathdee understood the threat of antibiotic-resistant infections all too well. She felt helpless watching her husband die, so she started researching alternatives. A colleague mentioned that a friend of hers had once traveled to Tbilisi, Georgia, to receive something called "phage therapy" and came back "cured."

Strathdee approached Schooley about giving phage a shot. Although he wasn't convinced it would work, he agreed. With an emergency approval from the FDA, Patterson was given a phage cocktail on March 15, 2016, and another two days later. Three days after that, he woke up from his coma.

'I remember what it was like before penicillin. I lost a lot of my classmates. It could happen again. If we don't deal with antibiotic resistance in real time, it will get worse.'

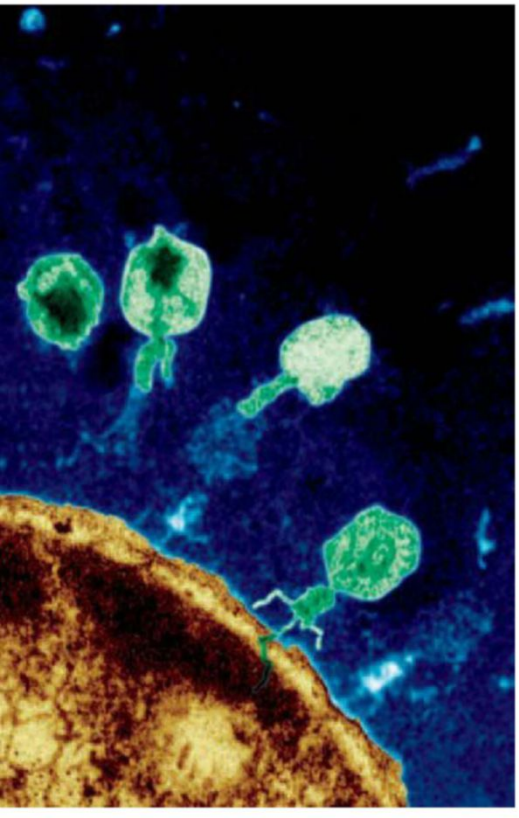
DR. CARL MERRIL, an early phage-therapy pioneer and entrepreneur



"I am still weaker than I was before," says Patterson, who is back at work. "But I feel I have a new life entirely, and it's wonderful to have that gift."

Since Patterson's success story was announced to the public in April 2017, nearly all the physicians involved in his care receive weekly emails from people whose loved ones are suffering from superbug infections. (Strathdee also landed a deal for a book on the subject. It's due in 2019.) Experts are hopeful that before too long, phage will clear FDA approval, making it more widely available to the people who need it most.

PHAGE THERAPY has some unique benefits over antibiotics. For one, bacteriophages can be found everywhere on earth, even in sewage. Second, it attacks only the targeted bacteria, not the so-called good bugs in the host. Third, it can be done quickly: scientists can create a phage cocktail and provide it to patients within 48 hours of a superbug-infection diagnosis in some cases. And even though bacteria can become resistant to phage, there are an infinite number of strains of the viruses—not so with antibiotics. During Patterson's treatment, the bacteria grew resistant to his initial phages, but the doctors were able to tweak the treatment with new



Bacteriophages, which are viruses, attack by invading and replicating inside drug-resistant bacteria, causing them to explode

SIMON D. LEE—SCIENCE SOURCE/GETTY IMAGES

strains until he cleared the infection.

Proponents of phage research say the treatment will never replace antibiotics altogether—for routine infections, the drugs will always be more convenient and easier to use. But if phage is approved by the FDA, it could become a powerful antidote to increasingly common superbug infections.

For that to happen, researchers need to perform clinical trials that produce a better understanding of the basic mechanisms of phage therapy so that successes in one person can be replicated in other people at scale.

In 2018, two small biotech companies in the U.S.—AmpliPhi Biosciences and Adaptive Phage Therapeutics (APT)—will launch clinical trials that will attempt to answer some of the key questions about phage.

"In the future, if we can cut the time down, phage might be better than antibiotics," says APT founder Dr. Carl Merril.

Merril, a former National Institutes of Health scientist, came out of retirement at the age of 80 to launch APT in October 2016. Merril has long been an advocate for using phage—he was featured in a 1971 issue of TIME for his work on the viruses—but his research never made it beyond the lab and into human testing.

Merril says he had long since given up on the possibility that phage therapy would ever become a mainstream treatment. That is, until Strathdee called him for advice about how to save her husband's life.

"This is sort of like a dream," says Merril, who advised doctors on how to administer phage to Patterson. It was Patterson's stunning recovery that inspired Merril to start APT.

"I am very old, and I remember what it was like before penicillin," says Merril. "I lost a lot of my classmates. It could happen again. If we don't deal with antibiotic resistance in real time, it will get worse."

APT is working on perfecting ways to scan bacteria samples against a massive library of bacteriophages that was collected by the U.S. Navy. Using proprietary algorithms that rely on artificial intelligence, APT then hopes to be able to quickly match bacterial strains with the phages that might be able to thwart them.

Merril envisions a time when APT can provide pharmacies with kiosks of phage strains, which APT has already trademarked as PhageBanks. If his dream comes true, then within one hour, infection samples would be screened and matched with the appropriate phages, which could be dispensed from the kiosks in single-dose vials. APT estimates that there's a $60 billion market opportunity for phage-based treatments.

Researchers caution that before that happens—before phage is embraced as a standard treatment as opposed to an experimental last resort—there's a lot of work to be done.

"It's unsustainable how we are doing it now," says Texas A&M's Young, who worked on both Tom Patterson's and Mallory Smith's cases. "Every time we try phage on a new patient, it's automatically a crisis, because you have someone who is dying. Everyone wants to help, but we need a system."

Young says he worries that if mistakes are made in the rush to get phage to patients, the field could end up in "we told you so" territory. "People should understand that an old therapy is back," he says. "But it's not yet commercially exploitable."

SINCE TREATING PATTERSON in 2016, the medical team at UCSD has treated three other people using phage, and two appear to be doing well.

"Thank God for Steffanie," says Josephine Willson, whose husband John was treated with phage at UCSD in May after contracting a resistant *Pseudomonas* infection. "If she didn't fight for her husband, I wouldn't have mine here today."

Josephine says her experience with her husband's infection, which he'd been fighting for over six months before receiving phage therapy, has woken her up to the ever growing threat of superbugs. "All I knew was that overuse of antibiotics could be detrimental at some point in time," she says. "I did not know we are already at a point where antibiotics cannot kill a bacteria you have. I did not know that."

Schooley, who now travels across the U.S. educating medical groups about phage, says tackling the superbug problem will require more education as well as better use of antibiotics and new therapies. "We need to use antibiotics intelligently," says Schooley. "But even if we stop using every antibiotic there is, there will still be multidrug-resistant organisms. We need to minimize their ongoing evolution by using antibiotics appropriately in the hospital and in agriculture—and we also need to think about novel approaches to head off these superbugs."

Many scientists have renewed hope that phage will be one of those solutions. "An international community has been galvanized," says Strathdee. "We need to keep up the momentum."

Mallory Smith's parents also want to help phage research continue so that it may one day help other people—even though it couldn't save their daughter.

By the time the phages made their way to Mallory in Pittsburgh, it was too late. She started the therapy but died the next day.

"We were two days short," Strathdee says. "Mallory's case symbolizes so much." ◻

THE YEAR POLIO GETS TO ZERO

THE WORLD'S LAST CASE OF POLIO MAY HAVE ALREADY HAPPENED. WE WILL KNOW SOON

BY JEFFREY KLUGER

THERE ISN'T A BIG MARKET FOR POLIOVIRUS PLUSH TOYS. They're not much to look at—about the size of a softball and a sort of ashen gray. That's a fitting color: *polios* is Greek for gray, and it's the gray matter in the central nervous system that the virus attacks, robbing children of the ability to walk, if it doesn't kill them first. It would be the rare parent who would want even a cuddly likeness of so lethal a thing anywhere near a healthy baby.

But the plush toys were much in demand at the headquarters of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation on World Polio Day in October. They were tucked into gift bags, stashed in purses, playfully tossed from person to person. If that seems unserious, well, the 400 people in attendance and the 150,000 more who watched the presentations online had a right to let themselves go.

As recently as 1988, there were 350,000 cases of polio each year, and the disease was endemic in 125 countries. In 2017 there have been only 16 cases, in just two countries: Afghanistan and Pakistan. With a case count so low, the question now is a straightforward one: Will 2018 be the year we get to zero?

"We've never seen this level of progress, this level of restricted transmission," says Jalaa' Abdelwahab, deputy director of UNICEF's polio-eradication initiative. "We're hoping that by the end of the next transmission season, we will see zero."

If that happens, polio will join smallpox as the only other human disease to be driven over the cliff to extinction. The 16th case in 2017 could, at least in theory, be the last case ever.

The road to almost zero has been a long one—and a lot of the credit has rightly gone to Rotary International, the global service organization that made polio eradication its mission in 1979. That year the group began a five-year campaign to vaccinate upwards of 6 million children in the Philippines. In 1988,

Lallan, a 16-year-old Indian boy, contracted polio when he was 7. In the rural area where he lives, the vaccine was unknown

Rotary joined hands with UNICEF, the World Health Organization (WHO) and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to form the Global Polio Eradication Initiative. In 2007 the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation came aboard. Today 2.5 billion children have been vaccinated worldwide at a cost of $15 billion.

One thing that has made so mammoth an undertaking possible is the type of vaccine used. There are two varieties: one administered orally and one by injection. The oral polio vaccine (OPV)—which is easier, cheaper and less scary for the children who receive it—has been the go-to choice for eradication. It takes an average of three doses at different times to confer full immunity; as long as the poliovirus is still at large, that will have to continue.

"Each year we vaccinate 450 million children under 5 years old," says Abdelwahab. "OPV is an amazing tool for stopping acute cases."

While OPV can cost as little as 18 cents per dose, inoculating nearly half a billion kids each year is not cheap—especially when you add the cost of field workers and delivery chains. In a world where diseases like malaria and HIV claim millions of lives, pouring so much money into eradicating a disease with fewer than two dozen victims this year raises questions. Health experts concede the seeming disconnect.

"The cost per case at this point seems ludicrous," admits Mark Suzman, chief strategy officer for the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. The fact is, however, that spending the money now means saving much more later.

For every child paralyzed by polio, there are 200 others who carry the virus without symptoms. A person from an endemic country can thus get on a plane and unknowingly spread the virus elsewhere. WHO estimates that if all polio vaccinations stopped today, the case count would soar to 200,000 per year within a decade. That makes eradicating the virus imperative—and it's a realistic goal.

"Humans are the only reservoir for polio," says Abdelwahab. Wipe the virus out in us, in other words, and you wipe it out everywhere.

One obstacle is the vaccine itself. OPV uses a live, weakened poliovirus to stimulate the immune system and confer immunity. But the weakened virus can occasionally mutate and be shed in its infectious form.

The result is what's known as vaccine-derived polio. It's rare; there are far fewer incidents of it than there would be of so-called wild polio if there were no vaccine, but in 2017 that still meant 80 vaccine-derived cases. Of those, 70 were in Syria, where war makes vaccination coverage spotty, leaving people susceptible to the mutated virus. "Displaced populations are a high-risk group," says Carol Pandak, a polio-eradication director for Rotary.

Eliminating vaccine-derived polio requires eventually dropping the oral vaccine and instead using the injection-administered inactivated polio vaccine (IPV), which uses a killed virus that is unable to cause the disease. After the case count reaches zero and holds there for three years, OPV will be withdrawn and IPV alone will be used for about 10 years as part of routine childhood checkups. Ultimately even that won't be necessary.

Once the disease is no more, the money and resources used for vaccine drives will be freed up for other health challenges. The war against polio has taken the kind of global coordination an actual war does. But while battles in a shooting war claim lives, battles in the polio war save them.□

DEBSUDDHA BANERJEE—BARCROFT IMAGES/GETTY IMAGES

FORECAST

NEXT-GENERATION DRUGS WILL OFFER ONE-DOSE CURES—AT A COST

You can't put too high a price on good health, but does that mean a new cancer treatment merits a half-million-dollar price tag? That's the cost of the much lauded CAR-T cell therapy, which was recently approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) because it can wipe out malignant cells in one shot. It's a steep price, but it provides something that multiple rounds of chemotherapy and radiation cannot: a potential cure. Compare that to the lifetime cost of treating the cancers for which CAR-T was approved, and it almost sounds like a deal.

The high price is partly due to the billions of dollars it costs to develop new drugs. There's also pharmaceutical-company markup, of course. Manufacturers can charge what they want for a new drug, especially for a first-of-its-kind or novel therapy like CAR-T.

Still, a $500,000 medical bill would bankrupt most U.S. citizens. Experts project that medicine will continue to eat up an ever-larger portion of health care spending in 2018, prompting patient advocates and lawmakers to push for change. Dr. Scott Gottlieb, commissioner of the FDA, has said he is committed to reforming the drug-approval process to bring down costs. That's good news, because hanging in the balance isn't just health care costs—but also lives. —*Alice Park*

innovation

From tech confabs to once-in-a-lifetime phenomena, 29 events to watch for in 2018

MEETINGS OF THE MINDS

1. GADGET GLORY
From smart homes to artificial intelligence, cutting-edge technology will be on display in Las Vegas at CES. *(Jan. 9–12)*

2. HER HACK
Boston University's SheHacks Boston is set to be the largest-ever computer-science hackathon for women and nonbinary individuals. *(Jan. 26–28)*

3. MEDICAL MEET-UP
Doctors, political insiders and health care experts will converge on Washington for the American Medical Association's National Advocacy Conference. *(Feb. 12–14)*

4. COOL-KID CONVENTION
Some of the brightest minds in media and tech will meet in Austin for the annual SXSW festival. Highlights this year include sessions on regenerative medicine, space travel, biohacking, artificial intelligence and more. *(March 9–18)*

5. FUTURE THINKERS
U.S. News & World Report's annual STEM conference in Washington defines the science, technology, engineering and mathematics workforce of tomorrow. *(April 4–6)*

6. IN A FIX
The new Future of Healthcare conference, to be held in Las Vegas, tasks a slew of health care providers, lawmakers, pharma companies and other key stakeholders with collaborating to disrupt and improve a broken system. *(May 6–9)*

Gates called for new pathways to get more women in tech at this year's Grace Hopper Celebration

NASA's first mission to the sun's atmosphere will face brutal heat and radiation

7. DIGITAL DANGER
Hackers of all types will visit Las Vegas for the Black Hat and DEF CON digital-security conferences. *(Aug. 4–12)*

8. XX TECH
Women from all over the globe are set to gather in Houston for the Grace Hopper Celebration of women in computing, the world's largest gathering of female technologists. Melinda Gates was among the 2017 keynote speakers. *(Sept. 26–28)*

EVERYTHING'S A COMPETITION

9. ROBOT BATTLE
Robots built by MIT students—a.k.a. the tech stars of the future—go head-to-head in the school's annual competition, which dates back to the '70s. Past themes have included *Star Wars* and *Back to the Future*. *(May)*

10. FAIRLY FUN
Remember your high school science fair? The World Science Festival, an annual event that brings discovery to the streets of New York City, is so much cooler. *(May)*

11. HEAVY MEDALS
The Nobel Prizes in science will be announced, crowning the year's greatest achievements in physics, chemistry and medicine. *(October)*

12. EUREKA MOMENT
The Breakthrough Prizes, founded by some of the tech world's top billionaires, honor accomplishments in physics, life sciences and mathematics. *(December)*

EXPLORING OUR WORLD—AND BEYOND

13. SUPER-MOON IN THE SPOTLIGHT
North Americans will glimpse a rare super blue moon eclipse when the blue moon—the second full moon of the month—travels through Earth's shadow before sunrise. *(Jan. 31)*

14. BIG DAY
On Earth Day, conservation will get its day in the sun. *(April 22)*

15. BATTEN DOWN THE HATCHES
Hurricane season will officially begin over the Atlantic Ocean. *(June 1)*

16. TO THE MOON
Happy birthday, NASA. President Dwight D. Eisenhower created the space agency 60 years ago on this day. *(July 29)*

17. GETTING WARMER
NASA will get a closer look at the sun when it launches its first ever mission to the star's atmosphere. Over the course of seven flybys, the Parker Solar Probe will gradually get closer to the celestial body. *(July 31–Aug. 19)*

18. MANNED, OH MANNED
SpaceX plans to launch its first crewed mission, which will carry astronauts to the International Space Station. *(August)*

19. NOT A GAS
The United Nations will urge people to cut down on ozone-depleting substances on the International Day for the Preservation of the Ozone Layer. *(Sept. 16)*

20. BOEING UP
Boeing aims to send its first set of astronauts to the International Space Station as part of NASA's Commercial Crew Program. *(November)*

21. SKY FALL
The Geminid meteor shower should reach its peak, and will be visible all night long. One of the biggest showers of the year, it can drop as many as 120 meteors per hour at its height. *(Dec. 13–14)*

NEW TECH REVEALED

22. CALL IN
The Samsung Galaxy S9, the company's answer to the iPhone X, is rumored to hit the market in February.

Apple and Google are also expected to unveil brand-new versions of their signature phones this year, but there's no telling when.

23. POWER MOVE

The biggest players in mobile technology will gather at Mobile World Congress in Barcelona to unveil new products and innovations and discuss the future of the industry. Expect advances from household names like Google, Sony, Samsung and more. *(Feb. 26–March 1)*

24. LOOKING GOOD

Tech Fashion Week will upgrade Silicon Valley's hoodies-and-jeans uniform, at least for one week. *(March 4–10)*

25. BEHIND THE WHEEL

By June—or even earlier, if all goes well—driverless-car prototypes may hit the roads in California. At least initially, the test vehicles may pick up only non-paying passengers, and they won't be available for consumer purchase. *(June)*

SCIENCE GETS POPULAR

26. HAPPY ANNIVERSARY

Viagra won FDA approval on this day 20 years ago—almost two decades before a female sex drug hit the market. *(March 27)*

27. BIG WOW

TED's Age of Amazement event, to be held in Vancouver, will highlight the weird, wild and wonderful discoveries driving our world forward. *(April 10–14)*

28. LIT UP

It's high times at the Medical Cannabis Research Symposium, hosted by—who else?—the University of Colorado. Doctors, herbalists and activists will discuss the future of medical-marijuana research in the U.S. *(April 14)*

SXSW will include panels on everything from artificial intelligence to LGBTQ advocacy

This retro product is a mini version of the original system from 1985

29. CHEAT CODE

Nintendo will bring back its NES Classic Edition in response to popular demand. *(summer 2018)*

—Jamie Ducharme and Abigail Abrams

GATES: ANDREW HARRER—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES; PROBE: NASA; VIAGRA: IRA WYMAN—SYGMA/GETTY IMAGES; SXSW: AARON ROGOSIN—SXSW; NINTENDO

HEALTH

FRONTIERS OF MEDICINE

Science has a reputation for moving slowly, but 2017 saw a number of historic breakthroughs that are poised to make an even greater impact next year and beyond. *—Alexandra Sifferlin*

CANCER IMMUMOTHERAPY

A pioneering gene therapy was recently approved in the U.S. for the treatment of certain types of blood cancer in children and adults. The new therapy, called CAR T, signals a change in how cancer can be treated: CAR T engineers a person's own immune cells to recognize cancer cells and target and destroy them. Doctors are already calling it a paradigm shift in cancer care.

NEW ORGAN TRANSPLANTS

At Penn Medicine in Philadelphia, scientists are implanting people in need of new hearts and kidneys with hepatitis C–infected organs, thanks to new drugs that clear the infection. In a trial at Baylor University Medical Center at Dallas, women without uteruses are receiving transplants of the organ from donors. One woman gave birth this year.

NEXT-GENERATION GENE EDITING

Scientists are using the gene-editing technology CRISPR to transform the field in remarkable ways, from treating genetic conditions to creating stronger food crops. In China, researchers are already using it to make low-fat pigs. The experiment could lead to leaner pigs that don't get cold and therefore cost less to raise—as well as lower-fat bacon.

SMARTER HEALTH DEVICES

Apple and Fitbit have wearable devices that continuously measure heart rate, and both devices can alert wearers to abnormal heartbeat patterns, which could signal disease. Such devices could help people with conditions like atrial fibrillation, a type of irregular heartbeat, better manage their care. Expect wearables to have even more medical capabilities in the future.

ENVIRONMENT

The earth faces a climate reckoning. So does the plan to save it

BY JUSTIN WORLAND

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP'S DECISION to pull the U.S. out of the Paris Agreement on climate change isn't the only obstacle facing the global effort to stem temperature rise.

From unchecked deforestation to difficulty financing clean-energy projects in the developing world, the global effort to achieve the targets in the Paris Agreement appears to be falling short even as the issue remains a top priority outside the U.S. The reason for the gap is simple: weaning the world off the fossil fuels that have driven centuries of growth is proving harder than anticipated.

Climate scientists, policymakers and diplomats hope to come up with a road map to address that challenge when they gather in Katowice, Poland, next December for the annual U.N. climate conference. The gathering, officially billed as a stock-taking exercise, is an opportunity for diplomats to assess whether countries are doing enough to stop the planet from warming to dangerous levels.

In Paris, countries agreed to work to keep temperatures from rising more than 2°C (3.6°F) by 2100. That's the approximate temperature at which scientists say the planet will begin to experience the worst irreversible effects of climate change: sea-level rise that destroys coastal communities, extreme heat that renders parts of the globe unlivable and agricultural disruption that drives widespread food shortages.

The 2018 conference comes only three years after the Paris Agreement, but diplomats say that's enough time to look for signs of progress. The affair is part bureaucratic (scientists and negotiators poring over technical documents) and part political pageantry (government ministers and senior officials promoting their country's work). Some 20,000 people in total are expected to attend the two-week conference, including delegations from virtually every nation, including the U.S.

Countries have introduced a slew of policy measures intended to help meet that target, from transitioning to electric vehicles to implementing energy-efficiency regulations. Most important, coal usage for electricity has declined in favor of cheaper alternatives including natural gas and wind and solar power. Partly thanks to those actions, global carbon-dioxide emissions for energy use have leveled off since 2014. But that's not enough: taken together, those

policies will only keep temperature rise to 3.2°C (5.8°F), according to data from the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP).

This shortfall does not surprise diplomats who have spent their careers negotiating climate-change pacts. Indeed, the gap is in part by design. Negotiators envisioned the Paris Agreement building momentum even after it went into effect with countries choosing to pursue increasingly aggressive carbon-dioxide reduction targets. The gap between the global target and the reality would push even deeper action, or so the deal's framers thought.

"In Paris, we did not set a mandatory reduction schedule that will guarantee that we will achieve 2°C," says John Kerry, who participated as Secretary of State in negotiations that resulted in the Paris Agreement. "We knew that leaving Paris, unless a lot of things that happened that are good, we are not going to make it."

THE MOMENTUM COMING out of that deal took a serious hit just a year later when the U.S. elected Donald Trump as President. Less than five months into office, Trump promised to withdraw the country from the Paris Agreement and revoked the U.S. pledge to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions. That hurts—both because the U.S. is the world's second largest emitter of carbon dioxide and because of the central role the country has played in climate negotiations.

Action has also faltered in places with leadership that actively speaks out on the threat of climate change. Political tumult in Germany has made Chancellor Angela Merkel wary of upsetting the country's coal regions, dimming the chances that the country will cut its greenhouse gas emissions 40% by 2020 as promised. Canada, Japan, Australia and the E.U. broadly will all need to craft new climate-change-fighting policies to meet their goals, according to a UNEP report.

Still, there are some positive developments. The cost of clean-energy technology—wind and solar power in particular—has continued to decline, making it cheaper than coal power in many places. And some countries, including Brazil, Russia and India, are on track to easily meet their commitments. For some, like Russia, that's because they set targets that are easy to achieve. But others, like India, benefit from expansion of solar and wind power. China in particular has established itself as a new leader in the climate-change fight, halting construction of new coal-fired power plants and pushing electrification in the transport sector. More broadly, China's government has promoted a clean-energy industry to manufacture products like batteries and solar panels to help the rest of the world transition away from fossil fuels. "There's no grass growing under the feet of the Chinese," says Kerry.

Framers of the Paris Agreement envisioned the 2018 session—officially known as the facilitative dialogue—in part as an opportunity to "name and shame" laggards, but the officials charged with running things in 2018 have since moderated their tone, saying they favor a positive approach. By the end of the gathering, they say, the world would have a concrete sense of what needs to come next.

But coming up with a plan and fulfilling it are two different things. And with Trump at the helm in the U.S. and the collective E.U. commitment falling short it remains unclear who else—if anyone—has both the authority and desire to push countries to adopt more aggressive targets that will prevent some of the worst effects of climate change.

"There are good things happening on the emission front," says Robert Jackson, chair of the department of earth system science at Stanford University. "They're simply not happening fast enough."

Beyond national authorities, cities, states and other local governments have tried to position themselves as part of the solution as they use policy to push renewable-energy sources, energy efficiency and other measures. And planners of next year's talks are working on the best way to look beyond reluctant national governments as they chart a plan to address climate change. This means giving U.S. governors and mayors a seat at the table in negotiations and factoring their plans to reduce emissions into climate-change projections. □

A HOPE FOR 2018

TODD MAY

Engineer

In 2018, NASA will finally have built all the flight hardware and critical elements of the Space Launch System (SLS), our next-generation deep-space exploration rocket. The agency is managing to a December 2019 launch schedule for the first flight test of the SLS rocket and Orion spacecraft beyond the moon and back.

Here on earth we'll be busy preparing the SLS for its biggest test yet: firing all four rocket engines of the core stage, the last stop before delivery to the Kennedy Space Center in Florida for launch. At the same time, we'll continue to develop innovative technologies, from complex 3-D printing of rocket parts to habitats built from Martian soil, making it possible to safely and sustainably mount human exploration missions to the moon, Mars and beyond.

May is the director of NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Ala., which oversees the agency's Space Launch System program

ILLUSTRATION BY ALEX EBEN MEYER FOR TIME; PORTRAIT BY PHIL NOTO FOR TIME

Students at MissionU, an education startup, listen to their peers pitch ideas for new apps after a hackathon in San Francisco

SOCIETY

Generation Z finds the upside to growing up amid total disruption

BY KATY STEINMETZ

MEMBERS OF THE INAUGURAL CLASS of MissionU are pretending to be newborn kittens, laughing and rolling around on the floor of an airy industrial loft in San Francisco. The group of about 30 students just finished a hackathon, and they are now in the midst of an improv workshop—all part of a yearlong program designed to turn them into highly employable workers. Among them is Eric Dew, a 20-year-old who spent two years studying computer programming in South Dakota. "I just didn't feel like I got even near the value I had paid for," he says of his associate's degree. Dew will pay no upfront tuition to MissionU as he is trained to be a data analyst. Instead, he has agreed to give the private company 15% of his income for three years after he leaves, a business model that makes sense to him. "One isn't successful without the other being successful," he says.

Dew is part of a cohort that has grown up during mass disruption. The post-millennial generation best known as Gen Z—individuals now in their teens and early 20s—looked on as their parents lost jobs during the Great Recession. They've seen older millennial siblings drown in student debt. Since they could eat solid food, they've watched one promising technology displace another, and, along with older generations, have questioned everything from the gig economy to the state of democracy. Now they're entering adulthood with a willingness to experiment.

"The old systems we used to rely on aren't working anymore, but new systems haven't necessarily been put in place," says Melissa Lavigne-Delville, founder of the trends and research firm Culture Co-op, which specializes in generational attitudes. "Parents aren't even sure about how to direct their children, because too much is up in the air."

According to a survey by her firm, 78% of Gen Z-ers say getting a four-year degree no longer makes economic sense, and hundreds of programs, from apprenticeships to boot camps, have cropped up to offer an alternative path. New types of work are possible too.

Research has found that teenagers are getting their driver's licenses later and doing less traditional work-for-pay than previous generations. But while they might not be tearing tickets at the local cineplex, they may be starting a popular YouTube channel from their bedroom. Culture Co-op found that nearly 60% of Gen Z-ers, ages 13 to 22, say they are doing some form of freelancing. Dew, for one, didn't have a job in high school but did teach himself to code and is building websites on the side while he attends MissionU.

The digital natives of Gen Z observe the world through their smartphones, and many became highly attuned to the nuances of identity at an early age. Take Ose Arheghan, a 17-year-old from Ohio who describes themself as a queer, nonbinary Nigerian-American and says discussions about diversity shouldn't leave out economic status or religion. On tours of college campuses, Arheghan (who does not identify as male or female) often asks whether there is gender-neutral housing—and gets weird looks from parents. "But I have to ask," says Arheghan. Equality-signaling is a factor for these young people in determining what's next, and for how long.

Workplaces are just beginning to feel the influence of Gen Z. Early observations suggest that these young people may opt for headphones at work, collaborating and socializing in chat rooms, rather than in the open spaces set up by millennials. Experts who spend their days thinking about office dynamics say that while members of Gen Z may not have the formal writing skills or emotional intelligence of baby boomers, they'll be able to teach older coworkers how to learn new tools and skills on the fly—the same way they have all their lives. There's also some promising research suggesting that young women with no work experience are demanding and receiving equal pay more often than women who have been in the workforce for years.

"There's this expectation of diversity in everything they do," says Lori Goler, head of HR for Facebook. That includes the work itself. Gen Z-ers are accustomed to flitting between apps and expect that they can go online and teach themselves anything they want, without sticking to any one task for too long. If millennials helped usher in an era in which it is normal to go through several careers and have flexible schedules, Gen Z-ers may find ways to have all those careers at the same time.

A HOPE FOR 2018

WHITNEY WOLFE

Entrepreneur

On a personal level and in my work, I plan to focus my energy on what I can do to change gender dynamics, to see an actual lasting change in the current landscape of incredibly misogynistic behavior that is pervasive in almost every category in our world. I would love to get serious about investing in female-founded companies. I would also love to get involved in mentoring young women who are just getting started, or to expand my reach to help other women build impactful companies. I'm currently writing a book, which comes out next year, and I hope to expand that into a children's book on gender norms. We need to make sure the language we are teaching our children about gender dynamics and relationships is one we can be proud of.

Wolfe is the founder and CEO of the female-led dating app Bumble and a co-founder of Tinder

"With Gen Z, I think we have these superhuman expectations for ourselves," says Larissa May, a 23-year-old in New York who is coaching older executives on how to use social media, consulting for a direct-to-consumer candle company and running a multimedia platform called #HalfTheStory. "In the past, if you were young, you sort of went up the ladder. You didn't say much your first two years on the job, and you just had to listen. But we can really provide a different perspective," she says. (Millennials rankled Gen X workers by refusing to pay their dues before they got a seat at the table, and there may be more rankling to come.)

Doing it all becomes increasingly possible as workplaces go virtual, expectations of working 9 to 5 go by the wayside and the concept of failure takes on an increasingly upbeat patina. Young people have "a growth mindset, where even if they mess up once, they're not going to let that mess-up define them," says Neha Sampat, who runs a workplace consulting firm called GenLead|BelongLab. That's especially true at the startups this entrepreneurial generation is founding. When asked what she expects from employees at her virtual-reality company, Entrypoint VR, 25-year-old Carissa Flocken says the bar for quality of work is high, "but when and where you do it doesn't matter." In Culture Co-op's survey, 61% of Gen Z-ers said they planned to start their own business or work independently within the next five years.

Jumping into the freelance economy means taking an uncertain path, as is betting one's future earnings on a educational program no one has tried before. Almost $2 billion has been invested in "last mile training" efforts like MissionU, according to private-equity firm University Ventures, but many young people are still opting for college. Plenty of people of all generations still view a BA as a prerequisite for success in life. But Dew says older people "get stuck" on the fact that he has no intention of getting a bachelor's degree. Where they see risk, he sees a chance to help prove that a new idea has merit—to be a pioneer. "There's always going to be something special," Dew says, "about being the first." ◻

KATY STEINMETZ FOR TIME; ILLUSTRATION BY PHIL NOTO FOR TIME

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

Why you shouldn't fear (all) future robots

BY ASHLEY HOFFMAN

Breakthroughs in artificial intelligence are making robots smarter and more capable. They're also helping spread fear that robots are coming for our jobs. That's not exactly the case yet. In fact, 2018 will see the debut of robots from manufacturers ranging from Honda to WeRobotics that are more likely to save lives than steal paychecks. Case in point: when natural disasters like earthquakes or floods strike, it is dangerous to send rescuers into buildings that are at risk of crumbling at any minute. That's when rescue robots like the Rooster, from Israeli firm RoboTiCan, are designed to be called into action. The highly durable Rooster can roll through wreckage in search of survivors, using advanced sensors and communications gear to survey an area for survivors and relay its findings back to its operators. RoboTiCan says the Rooster can check an area in minutes that might take humans several hours, all without needlessly putting rescuers at risk. That's one job nobody will mind being stolen by a robot.

BUSINESS

WHY SELTZER'S STAYING FIZZY

The bubbling seltzer business shows no sign of going flat. The parent company of one popular brand, LaCroix, is on track for over $1.5 billion in sales in 2018, thanks in part to flavors like pamplemousse and peach pear. Seltzer's popularity comes as Americans seek healthier soda alternatives, according to NPD Group's Darren Seifer. (A 12-oz. can of Coca-Cola has 39 grams of sugar; a can of LaCroix has none.) Seltzer has long been valued for its health benefits; people have soaked in carbonated water to relieve ailments for centuries.

—Lisa Marie Segarra

COMMUNICATION

WHY NEW EMOJIS COULD MAKE YOU 😀

Emoji fans could have dozens of playful new pictographs to liven up their text messages in 2018, with 130 characters slated for release. One big trend among the latest additions: diversity. This year's emojis add a wider range of physical attributes, including redheaded, curly-haired and balding characters. "There is a responsibility to ensure that the people shown on the emoji keyboard reflect the diversity of the world that we're in," says Jeremy Burge, founder of Emojipedia and a member of the Unicode Consortium, the group that approves or rejects ideas for new emojis.

—L.M.S.

ROBOTICAN; EMOJIPEDIA (?)

Q&A

The executive who wants to revolutionize your work life

BY LUCY FELDMAN

Adam Neumann enrolled in Baruch College in New York City in 2002 and dropped out with just four credits to complete. After a few false starts, the serial entrepreneur launched WeWork, the shared-office-space company of which he's CEO, which now has 200 locations in 64 cities. WeWork, which is valued at $20 billion, has varied interests: the company includes ventures in co-living and elementary education, has acquired the social platform Meetup and owns a large stake in the wave-pool company Wavegarden. But the ambition to revolutionize the workplace remains Neumann's focus. In 2018, WeWork will open in Tokyo, Lima, Madrid, Barcelona and Dublin, expanding its impact on the global labor force. Neumann spoke to TIME about the future of work.

WeWork seems to be doing a lot of different things. WeWork is working to create a world where people make a life and not just a living. Thirty years ago there was a certain expectation of what a young adult would do when they went to college and graduated. Today everything has opened up. We're observing a large generation of amazing individuals being interested in intention and meaning more than material goods. And their workplaces are based on mission and fulfillment—not only salary.

Is work-life balance a thing of the past? That's a confusing term. Life is about being present. Sometimes your home will demand more attention, and you should be there. Sometimes your work is more demanding. But the beautiful thing when you create your life's work is that it always feels like you're on a mission. If more people follow their superpowers—and everyone has one—then we're going to be better as a society.

What did the workplace look like when you launched Green Desk, the first iteration of WeWork, in 2008? The world was crashing. The younger generation said, "Wait. If companies can go bankrupt, why am I going to college and into debt to work a job I don't love for a company I don't believe in?" You see the beginning of a movement that not only allows WeWork to become a reality but also is starting to shift the way people work.

> 'Talent has more choices than ever—with hiring it's not about being the highest payer anymore ...To retain talent, you really have to give people a reason to stay.'

JAMEL TOPPIN—THE FORBES COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

And now? Now the topic of culture is around every boardroom and executive table. CEOs and leaders are starting to understand that the culture will establish the type of talent they attract and the duration for which that talent will choose to stay. Talent has more choices than ever—with hiring it's not about being the highest payer anymore, because there's always someone willing to pay a little more. To retain talent, you really have to give people a reason to stay. The power has shifted.

How will workplaces need to change next? Companies need to and will become more mission-driven. [Consumers] are going to choose where we spend our money, and we choose experiences and meaning more than just material things. If I buy from you, I'm supporting you—and I have to be very thoughtful about how I spend my resources in an expensive world. Companies will be pushed to have more corporate responsibility.

You graduated college this year, more than a decade late. Is getting a college degree important? Finishing what you started is important. My grandmother paid for it, and it was important to her that I finish. This year I did my last class, and I got to graduate and give the [commencement] speech both in the same hour. People need to study—we're students for life. But do I think the traditional way works? No way. Most people finishing college at 22 aren't even trained for a profession. What have they done the past four years?

What's the plan for the wave pools? I'm going to answer you partially. Ours is a larger vision of campuses, cities, neighborhoods. Bringing people together is an art. What's amazing about surfing is you have to be present, otherwise you fall off the wave. In a world where we're so connected to our phones, social media and content, it's getting harder and harder to be present. Expect to see Wavegarden showing up at some of the largest companies on this earth.

CULTURE

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAL PUDELKA FOR TIME

A LIGHT IN THE DARKNESS

***A WRINKLE IN TIME* IS THE ONCE AND FUTURE CLASSIC THAT HOLLYWOOD HAS BEEN TRYING TO MAKE FOR DECADES**

BY ELIZA BERMAN

***Wrinkle*'s stars—Mindy Kaling, Reese Witherspoon, Storm Reid and Oprah Winfrey—shot for TIME in Los Angeles**

"DEAR MR. DISNEY"—

That's how a 10-year-old girl named Catherine began her letter to the most powerful man in movies during the bitter, final months of 1963. She had experienced that year's traumas like most children do, through the anxious whispers of adults, with despair moving a few feet above her head. She wanted to tell Mr. Disney about a book that had given her hope, one she thought could do the same for a nation of kids who felt the world around them darkening. If only he would put its story on film. But she never sent the letter, setting it aside in a moment of resignation. Three years later, when Walt Disney died of lung cancer, she was inconsolable. Not only was the maestro of the Mouse House gone, but she couldn't think of anyone else who could make that movie. So she resolved to do it herself one day.

Fifty-four years later, producer Catherine Hand nearly has. *A Wrinkle in Time,* a Disney movie based on Madeleine L'Engle's 1962 novel of the same name, will come out on March 9. The film brings to life the story of Meg Murry, a gangly adolescent who travels across dimensions to rescue her scientist father. Meg is guided by a trio of guardian angels collectively called "the Mrs." The book, and the movie, is about what it means to be a source of light in a world in which darkness seems only to proliferate. It also makes the case for thinking independently when conformity is the norm.

As a child, Hand assumed that the power to adapt *Wrinkle* rested with a single man. But it took a collective of women to finally do it: Hand, who later in life befriended the author; screenwriter Jennifer Lee, best known for writing and co-directing the Disney megahit *Frozen;* and Oscar-nominated director Ava DuVernay. Plus DuVernay's cast. For the all-powerful trio of Mrs., she chose Hollywood's own all-powerful: Oprah Winfrey, Reese Witherspoon and Mindy Kaling. And for the young hero at the center of it all, she will introduce moviegoers to Storm Reid.

As a novel, *A Wrinkle in Time* has been a mainstay of middle school English curriculums for decades. It introduced the spiritual antecedent to Katniss Everdeen, Buffy the Vampire Slayer and Hermione Granger. And it posed a series of philosophical questions that are no less relevant in the era of Trump and Putin than they were in the time of Kennedy and Khrushchev. High stakes, in other words. As Winfrey sees it, *Wrinkle* the movie heightens the stakes even more: "I felt like we were making the new *Wizard of Oz* for another generation."

A WRINKLE IN TIME begins with the mother of all literary clichés: "It was a dark and stormy night." But what follows is wholly original. When *Wrinkle* was first published, L'Engle was 17 years into a writing career that would span fiction, nonfiction, poetry and theater. The idea for the book came to her during a family camping trip when the names of three old-as-time ethereal beings—Mrs. Whatsit, Mrs. Which and Mrs. Who—popped into her mind.

She had been on something of a cosmology bender, soaking up the works of Arthur Eddington, Max Planck and Albert Einstein. The theory of relativity interested her, and she had come across the concept of a "tesseract"—something familiar to anyone versed in advanced geometry or Marvel's Avengers movies. From there, she conjured a story about a girl who "tessers," or travels in the fifth dimension—or, as the writer put it, traverses a wrinkle in time.

The book is partly autobiographical. As a girl, L'Engle had felt gawky and unwanted. She would come home in the afternoon and write stories with heroes she aspired to be like. But when she created Meg Murry, she crafted one who shared what L'Engle felt were her own failings: Meg is an outcast who struggles in school, with her scientist parents'

Although *Wrinkle* was made on a much greater scale than her previous films, its story was familiar territory for DuVernay: "I'm interested in exploring and chronicling the inner life of a person who is not yet fully in their skin."

MICHAL PUDELKA FOR TIME

genes for brilliance taking some time to express themselves. She's also angsty and angry and troubled by the injustices around her.

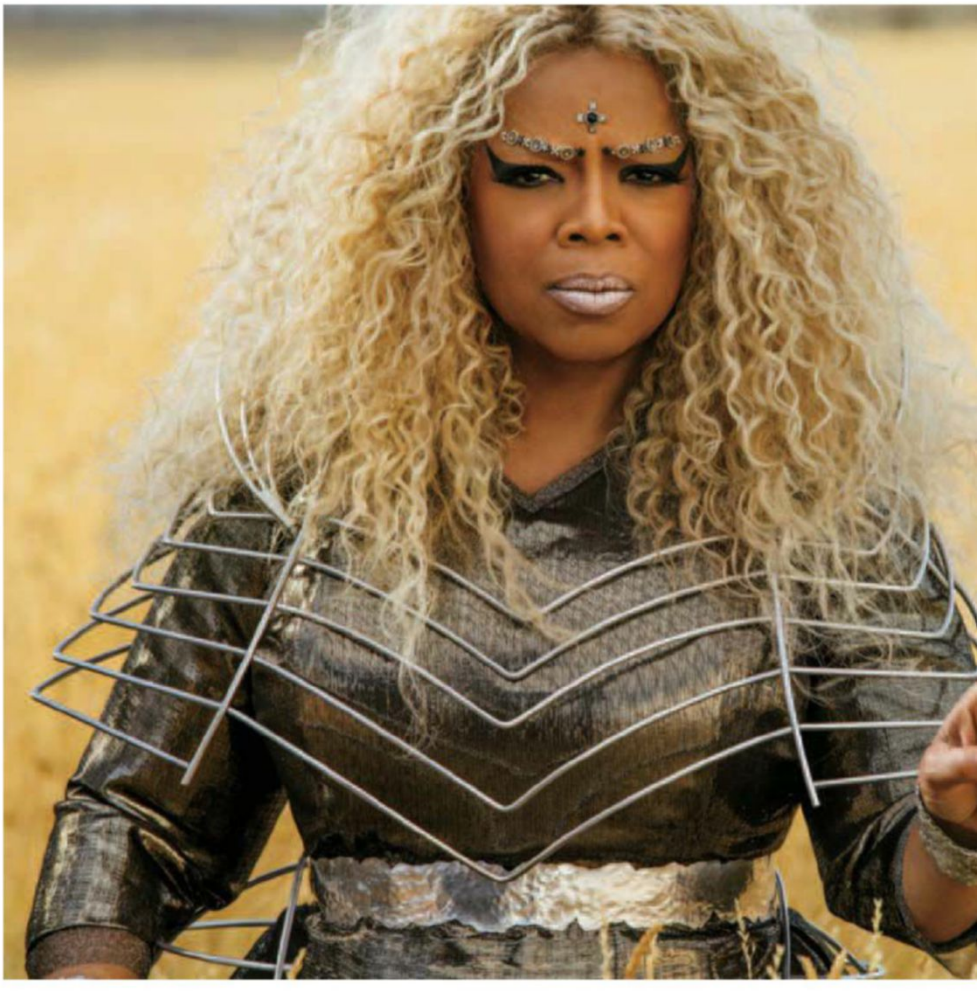
The story is driven by Meg's search for her father, whose disappearance may have been inspired by the emotional distance of L'Engle's own. With the help of the Mrs., her younger brother and a hunky classmate named Calvin, Meg looks for him by beaming to planets with names like Ixchel and Uriel. She learns of an evil Dark Thing descending over a world called Camazotz, where humans' minds are plugged into a disembodied brain that controls them. On Camazotz, evidently modeled after postwar suburbs like Levittown, N.Y., the children are carbon copies who bounce their bouncy balls in eerie unison. In the end, Meg learns that she has had the tools—critical thinking and boundless love—required to save her father all along.

The tale almost never saw the light of day. Unlike L'Engle's previous novels, this one puzzled publishers. Some rejected it because they believed its themes were too challenging for young readers. Some objected to its portrayal of evil, and still others wouldn't bet on a female sci-fi protagonist. All told, it met with some 26 rejections before Farrar, Straus and Giroux took a chance. The book, the first in what would come to be known as the Time Quintet series, hasn't gone out of print since. As of its 50th anniversary in 2012, *Wrinkle* had sold more than 10 million copies worldwide.

After its publication, *Wrinkle* was controversial. It's still a frequently banned book, in the company of censored classics *The Catcher in the Rye* (profanity) and *Charlotte's Web* (talking animals). Most objections were made on the grounds that it was un-Christian. The book is

'Women directors, we're not getting people just saying, "Hey, let's talk about this $100 million sci-fi epic."'

AVA DUVERNAY, director of *A Wrinkle in Time*



reverential of Jesus, but it also equates him with historical geniuses like da Vinci and Gandhi. (L'Engle was a Christian.) The book promotes, according to critics, witchcraft, divination and a new-age approach to spirituality.

L'Engle, who died in 2007 at 88, eventually came to accept the great publicity that attempts to censor *Wrinkle* proffered. Not that the book, which won the Newbery Medal in 1963, needed it. Its influence helped launch a new generation of fantasy writers and new types of books that didn't quite fit in any one section of the library. Not least among the reasons *Wrinkle* was so novel and widely read: its hero was a girl.

DUVERNAY WASN'T EXACTLY expecting the call from Disney. "Women directors, we're not getting people just saying, 'Hey, let's talk about this $100 million sci-fi epic,'" she says, sitting beside her cast a short while after TIME's cover shoot for this story. She says she didn't accept the job immediately when the studio offered it in 2016. She had never read *A Wrinkle in Time*. Both she and longtime collaborator Winfrey, who grew up in Compton, Calif., and Milwaukee, respectively, say it "missed" their neighborhoods.

DuVernay says a challenge issued by Tendo Nagenda, the Disney executive who put the script in her hands, kept nagging at her. "Ava, imagine the worlds you can create," she recalls him saying. "And I said, 'Worlds?' He said, 'There are planets, and you get to decide what they look like.' I was just like, 'I do?'" DuVernay gets a little emotional, recalling the feeling: "How many women hear that? How many people of color hear that?"

At the mention of Nagenda's name, Winfrey sits straight up, assuming a meditative position with thumbs to forefingers, and repeats in her unmistakable alto: "TEN-Do Na-Gen-Da." The room erupts into a chorus of reverential murmurs: "TEN-Do Na-Gen-Da."

DuVernay, who started out as a film publicist, launched her filmmaking career with low-budget indies, including *Middle of Nowhere,* which earned a directing award at Sundance in 2012. In 2015, her drama about Martin Luther King Jr., *Selma*, was nominated for an Oscar for Best Picture. *Wrinkle* will make DuVernay the fourth woman to solo-direct a movie with a budget over $100 million and the first African-American woman ever to do so. People can't seem to stop asking her about that, including TIME. She sums up all these conversations: Question: "Girl, how did you do it?" Answer: "Same way he did it!" "I've made films for $50,000," she says. "So when people say, 'How are you managing $100 million?' It's like, 'Quite well.'"

When it came to envisioning *Wrinkle*'s worlds, the first thing DuVernay saw was not topography but faces. She wanted Meg to have brown skin, and the three Mrs. to be "black, white and someone who wasn't either," as well as different sizes, faiths and ages. "I wasn't just casting for actresses. I was casting for leaders—icons," she says. "Reese is the hottest producer in town. Oprah's the most prolific, venerable legend of television and an artist and entrepreneur. And Mindy's one of the few women running a show with her name, about her." She looks at the faces to her left and right. "When I think about the three of them together as a unit of celestial beings, it feels right."

Those celestial beings include Mrs. Who, who speaks almost exclusively in the words of Buddha, Euripides and others. (In the film, she references such contemporary philosophers as Justin Bieber and Jay-Z.) DuVernay chose the "Chaplinesque" Kaling to play her. Mrs. Whatsit, played by Witherspoon, is the youngest at 2,379,152,497 years old, and the kookiest. And for Mrs. Which, the oldest and most enlightened, DuVernay didn't have to think twice. "There's not even a question if you're trying to have the

Her decades-long quest to adapt *Wrinkle* led producer Catherine Hand, right, to become close friends with the book's author, Madeleine L'Engle

As Mrs. Which, Winfrey, left, channels the same wisdom she offers girls at her school in South Africa. As Mrs. Who, Kaling, above, punctuates scenes with famous quotes from iconic leaders

all-knowing, wisest lady in the universe, who happens to be one in real life, and you have her phone number." You just call up Winfrey, who starred in *Selma* and executive-produces DuVernay's TV series *Queen Sugar* on OWN. "Who else would you get?" Winfrey asks, half-joking.

For the role of Meg, DuVernay auditioned about 70 girls. Reid, who had had a few small roles in films, including *12 Years a Slave,* was among the first the director saw. "She became the benchmark for what I was looking for," says DuVernay. The director adds that hiring a mature young actor whom adults could relate to was crucial. "I don't have kids for a reason," says DuVernay, patting Reid's knee affectionately as if to say, "No offense." "My films are my children."

During the photo shoot, the women had patiently heeded directions from the photographer as a gaggle of makeup artists, stylists, publicists, assistants and a burly bodyguard type looked on. Reid, resplendent in a Gucci gown, showed uncanny poise. You might have mistaken her for older than 14 if not for her eyes. After every click of the shutter, they searched the crowd for her mother's face, which looked back at her with reassurance.

Reid, who grew up in Atlanta, seems to fundamentally understand the character she's playing. For her, the movie is "about knowing that you're going to go through dark spaces in your life. You're not going to be perfect, but the most important thing is not trying to please anybody. It's loving yourself inside out."

WHY DID IT TAKE nearly six decades to get here? Everything that could go wrong did. When Hand first began trying, in 1979, she was working as an assistant to the legendary TV producer Norman Lear. She asked if he'd read the book; he liked it, but didn't see it as a fit for himself. She persuaded the head of his production company to acquire the rights. From that point on, it was one step forward, two tessers back.

Hand had one big advantage in her efforts to make the movie. Three days after reaching out to L'Engle to inquire about the rights, she was sitting across from her childhood idol at the World Trade Center's Windows on the World restaurant, the first meeting in what would become a long friendship. Hand was in her 20s and L'Engle in her 60s.

In 2003, Hand worked with Disney to produce a made-for-TV movie of *Wrinkle.* Thanks to budget constraints, among other issues, the adaptation turned out bland and uninspiring. It disappointed audiences, L'Engle and Hand. "This is not the dream," Hand recalls telling herself. "I'm sure there were people at Disney that wished I would go away."

Nagenda wasn't one of them. In 2013, Disney's executive vice president of production decided he wanted to try again. Nagenda, one of Hollywood's highest-ranking African-American executives, was born in the U.S. but spent a formative part of his adolescence in his father's native Uganda. At Disney, he has shown a particular talent for helping transform old stories for new times. And after *Frozen,* executives discovered that *A Wrinkle in Time* had been Lee's favorite book as a child. Hand says the rest "was kismet."

Lee was everything Hand had been searching for decades earlier. Aside from her success with *Frozen,* which won two Oscars, Lee had a fascination with the intersection between science and faith. That *Wrinkle* is equally reverent of the two, rather than treating them in opposition, is no less significant in 2018 than it was in 1962. The studio brought a draft to DuVernay more than 20 years after Disney first acquired the rights to *Wrinkle*.

'I felt like we were making the new *Wizard of Oz* for another generation.'

OPRAH WINFREY, actor in *A Wrinkle in Time*

WINFREY, KALING: DISNEY; L'ENGLE AND HAND: COURTESY CATHERINE HAND

ON A WARM SPRING MORNING in Santa Clarita, Calif., Reid is flying. Her spring-loaded curls are taking on a life of their own, thanks to giant fans just out of frame. Eventually, the blue screen behind her will be replaced with billowy clouds against an impossible sky. The movie's visuals are more than a little weird, something like the results of a highly productive LSD trip. "Men who are doing sci-fi I don't think are having as much fun in the makeup, hair and clothes as we did," says DuVernay.

Winfrey's hair, perched above her rhinestone-bedazzled brow, alternates between voluminous Earth Mother curls and Frank Gehry splines, for example. Kaling's kaleidoscopic costumes borrow from cultures across the globe, and, well, Witherspoon sports shamrock lip gloss and a tangerine bouffant.

It wouldn't be farfetched to describe the set, both on location in New Zealand and on the Disney lot in California, as a matriarchy. DuVernay recalls the rapid formation of a sisterhood. "The men, you know, who knows?" she jokes, before clarifying that the guys, including Chris Pine and Zach Galifianakis, who play Meg's father Dr. Murry and a soothsaying mystic called the Happy Medium, respectively, were lovely people. "But it was something special with the ladies."

I mention that the women's social-media posts against the backdrop of New Zealand's vivid greens and blues were enough to inspire FOMO, short for the "fear of missing out." There's confusion:

"What's FOMO?" asks DuVernay. She turns to Winfrey: "Did you know?"

Winfrey nods.

Kaling chimes in: she has it regularly, in fact, "pretty acutely."

Winfrey says that Gayle King, her best friend, has it too. "She'll fly across the country for your birthday party."

Kaling says making this movie was more than just a refreshing dose of woman power: "The essential quality of Ava is not, to my mind, tied to her woman-ness. It's tied to her Ava-ness." It began with an exacting attention. Lee recalls DuVernay asking, "Can you think on this scene and sort of lean into how to disprove Einstein's theory of relativity?'" She laughs. "I was like, 'Sure, no problem.'"

DuVernay's demands weren't only production-related. "I've never seen somebody demand inclusiveness like that," says Witherspoon, who has worked in Hollywood for 25 years. "It's just a different perspective, and you don't get that unless we start to have powerful filmmakers of different colors, different genders. You're just gonna have the same 20 dudes making the same 20 movies over and over and over again." Winfrey agrees. "I looked at her in her jeans and sneakers and those dreads out there calling it," she says. "It's just the coolest damn thing to watch her with those big-ass machines. It just feels like, O.K., next generation: there you are."

Witherspoon, pictured with Reid, appreciated that DuVernay wanted to bring "a youthful spirit and vitality" to Mrs. Whatsit, who is said in the book to be more than 2 billion years old

DESPITE ITS MEGABUDGET, its global fan base, its award-winning writer and director, its all-star cast and, yes, even the presence of Winfrey, there's no guarantee that *A Wrinkle in Time* will be a hit—or the adaptation that L'Engle and Hand always envisioned. Online shops from Walmart to Etsy sell T-shirts that read, THE BOOK WAS BETTER. Twitter is already flooded with messages from fans begging Disney not to ruin their childhoods. "I used to laugh with Madeleine, and she knew it too," Hand says wistfully. "I mean, jeez—you always have the book."

The movie will come out at a time much like the one during which Hand was planning to lobby Mr. Disney. Audiences clearly want a balance between escapism and reality, stories that leave them feeling good, but not without some prodding to examine the world around them. "There's a particular person that I feel like is the root of all darkness and evilness that's going on in the world right now," says Reid. Her director and co-stars widen their eyes. A few bob their heads in approval. "Smart girl," murmurs DuVernay.

But that's not why this group believes Wrinkle will matter. Says Reid: "Before I got this role, I wanted there to be more little girls that look like me on TV and in lead roles." Adds Winfrey: "When you don't see yourself, there is a subconscious psychological manifestation. It's diminishing." But to see yourself as the savior of a world threatened by unquantifiable evil? "That will have impact far beyond anything any marketer, any researcher, any of us even know." —*With reporting by* SAM LANSKY/LOS ANGELES

DISNEY

Jedi vs. Jedi: Rey (Ridley) must convince Luke Skywalker (Hamill) to rejoin the Resistance

LUCASFILM

REVIEW

The Last Jedi is the one movie you'll still be talking about in 2018

BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

TO SAY THAT WRITER-DIRECTOR RIAN Johnson's *Star Wars: The Last Jedi* is watchable even by those who have zero investment in the *Star Wars* franchise or its characters may sound like faint praise, but it's really the highest. Most big-budget franchise filmmaking these days amounts to ticking off a series of boxes. Here, Johnson has taken a property—one that by this point has so many characters, so much mythology and so many requirements—and given us an actual *movie*. Its emotional generosity, even in the midst of all the extravagant green-screen work, is its best special effect. He's taken Disney's money and given viewers all the things money can't buy: joy, levity and a sense of humor. This is the third *Star Wars* film in as many years, in a seemingly endless line of planned spin-offs, but it doesn't feel cynical. Instead of selling to us, he's speaking to us. You feel the difference.

The story, peopled by characters created in a galaxy far, far away by George Lucas, is easy to grasp even for neophytes: The old Empire has crumbled, and the fascist First Order has risen in its wake. Kylo Ren (Adam Driver), an ambitious up-and-comer in the world of evil, has been currying favor with the First Order Supreme Leader Snoke (Andy Serkis), a sinister boss king who looks like a desiccated 200-year-old Kirk Douglas. Meanwhile, Force powerhouse orphan Rey (Daisy Ridley) has piloted the late Han Solo's cherished *Millennium Falcon* to the island on which Luke Skywalker (Mark Hamill), a Jedi who's lost his mojo, is hiding.

The film has to deal with classic *Star Wars* franchise problems—you've got to find something meaningful for too many characters to do, and all of it must cohere into a plot. At times the movie feels cluttered. How could it not? But Johnson does well by every character, including the old ones—like Stormtrooper turned Resistance fighter Finn (John Boyega)—as well as the new. Laura Dern shows up as a military leader with a fluff of violet flapper hair that belies her steely core. And the movie introduces Rose (Kelly Marie Tran), a shy Resistance underling who at first worships the movement's heroes, and then gets a chance to become one herself.

Johnson orchestrates massive action scenes with specificity and a light touch: the finest is a multiplayer lightsaber battle that's regal and thrilling, a gorgeous set piece that seems to take its cues in part from Balinese puppet theater. But there are so many other details here that are wonderful, like a gang of friendly crystal foxes who skitter across a salt-encrusted landscape on dainty tapered paws, and an old, pointy-eared favorite who makes a ghostly, thoughtful cameo.

It's Johnson's handling of Leia, played by the late Carrie Fisher, that says the most about his approach to the material. A lesser filmmaker would have written Leia out of the story with a grand, melodramatic flourish. Instead he grants us something delicate and satisfying—the opportunity to revel in all that was great about her, including her sandpaper-velvet voice and her decisive way around a wisecrack.

No matter how much money has been poured into a movie, it's empathy that matters, and Johnson gives without squandering. His great gift is that he knows when to stop. ◻

CULTURE

From the return of old friends like Mary Poppins and Harry Potter to a new collection from America's poet laureate, here are 39 movies, shows, books and more to watch for in 2018

ACTION AND INTRIGUE

1. ANNIHILATION
A biologist (Natalie Portman) joins a group of scientists on a secret expedition to an isolated area that does not play by the rules of nature. *(Feb. 23)*

2. READY PLAYER ONE
Tye Sheridan stars in Steven Spielberg's adaptation of Ernest Cline's 2011 dystopian novel, in which humans escape a global energy crisis inside a virtual-reality game. *(March 30)*

3. SOLDADO
The sequel to the gritty 2015 drama *Sicario* finds Josh Brolin and Benicio del Toro trying to stamp out drug cartels along the U.S.-Mexico border. *(June 29)*

FAMILIAR FICTIONS

4. CLOVERFIELD MOVIE
The third film in the monster anthology finds a group of astronauts fighting to survive after an experiment with a particle accelerator goes wrong. *(Feb. 2)*

5. FROZEN: THE BROADWAY MUSICAL
With twice as many songs as the film, the stage adaptation of Disney's animated blockbuster brings eternal winter to the Great White Way. *(March 22)*

6. MEAN GIRLS
The popular clique heads to Broadway to wreak havoc on innocent high schoolers in a musical version of the 2004 cult favorite. *(April 8)*

7. HARRY POTTER AND THE CURSED CHILD
The two-part play, set 19 years after J.K. Rowling's series ends, rides its broom across the pond to the Broadway stage. *(April 22)*

8. A STAR IS BORN
In Bradley Cooper's directorial debut, Lady Gaga adds her name to the list of actors—including Judy Garland and Barbra Streisand—to anchor a fresh take on the 1937 romance. *(May 18)*

9. OCEAN'S 8
A spin-off of the early-2000s franchise convenes a glamorous ensemble, including Sandra Bullock and Rihanna, to pull off a grand heist at New York City's Met Gala. *(June 8)*

10. INCREDIBLES 2
The long-awaited Pixar sequel reunites the beloved Parr family to save the world from certain doom. *(June 15)*

11. MAMMA MIA! HERE WE GO AGAIN
Cher appears alongside returning stars Meryl Streep and Amanda Seyfried in this sequel to the 2008 Abba-centric musical film. *(July 20)*

12. CRAZY RICH ASIANS
The adaptation of Kevin Kwan's 2013 novel stars *Fresh Off the Boat*'s Constance Wu, who discovers that her boyfriend is the wealthiest, most eligible bachelor in Singapore. *(Aug. 17)*

13. CREED 2
The next installment of the series of *Rocky* spin-offs starring Michael B. Jordan picks up where the lauded 2015 drama left off. *(Nov. 21)*

14. MARY POPPINS RETURNS
Everyone's favorite nanny is revived in the form of Emily Blunt, who brings joy to the now-grown Banks children along with a lamplighter played by Lin-Manuel Miranda. *(Dec. 25)*

TRUE STORIES

15. THE ASSASSINATION OF GIANNI VERSACE: AMERICAN CRIME STORY
A new miniseries takes on the 1997 murder of the Italian fashion designer and the twisted mind of his killer. *(Jan. 17)*

16. WACO
Taylor Kitsch is cult leader David Koresh in a miniseries recounting federal agents' 1993 siege of the Branch Davidian religious sect's Texas compound. *(Jan. 24)*

17. WINCHESTER
This horror-mystery based on true events stars Helen Mirren as firearms heiress Sarah Winchester, overseer of the world's creepiest house. *(Feb. 2)*

18. FEEL FREE
In a new essay collection, *Swing Time* author Zadie Smith tackles subjects from social media to global warming. *(Feb. 6)*

19. THE LOOMING TOWER
Based on Lawrence Wright's 2006 Pulitzer-winning book about the rise of al-Qaeda, Hulu's new series chronicles the fraught relationship between the FBI and the CIA leading up to 9/11. *(Feb. 28)*

20. MAKE TROUBLE
Planned Parenthood president Cecile Richards' memoir details her lifelong fight for women's rights. *(April 3)*

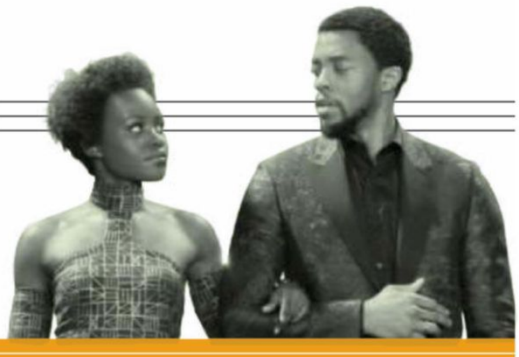
21. WADE IN THE WATER
Poet laureate Tracy K. Smith offers up a collection of poems examining life in America from both a contemporary and historical perspective. *(April 3)*

22. A HIGHER LOYALTY
Former FBI director James Comey reflects on his career, from a now infamous private dinner with the President to his investigation into Hillary Clinton's emails. *(May 1)*

23. FIRST MAN
Ryan Gosling takes a giant leap for mankind as Neil Armstrong in the adaptation of James R. Hansen's 2005 biography, from *La La Land* director Damien Chazelle. *(Oct. 12)*

24. BOHEMIAN RHAPSODY
The much-delayed Freddie Mercury

Rami Malek as Freddie Mercury, Emily Blunt as Mary Poppins and Kerry Butler as a mean mom in *Mean Girls* on Broadway



Lupita Nyong'o and Chadwick Boseman must save their imperiled nation in *Black Panther*

biopic sees Rami Malek stretch his vocal cords as the legendary Queen frontman. *(Dec. 25)*

NEW NARRATIVES

25. THE CHI

Emmy-winning *Master of None* writer and actor Lena Waithe gets her own Showtime series about life on Chicago's South Side. *(Jan. 7)*

26. THE RESIDENT

An newly minted doctor's idealistic attitude shifts as he discovers a darker side of the hospital business in Fox's new medical drama. *(Jan. 21)*

27. MOSAIC

Viewers watching Steven Soderbergh's experimental HBO murder mystery can use an app to switch between characters' POVs. *(Jan. 22)*

28. LOVE, SIMON

This comic drama follows a closeted gay teen (Nick Robinson) who falls for an anonymous classmate online. *(March 16)*

29. ISLE OF DOGS

In Wes Anderson's latest animated feature, a boy searches for his dog on a canine island in dystopian Japan. *(March 23)*

30. LEAN ON PETE

Newcomer Charlie Plummer has drawn comparisons to a young Leonardo DiCaprio in this drama about a lonely teen who befriends a failing racehorse. *(March 30)*

31. TULLY

In this comedy from director Jason Reitman and writer Diablo Cody, Charlize Theron plays a mother of three who forms a bond with her nanny. *(April 20)*

32. MY YEAR OF REST AND RELAXATION

Ottessa Moshfegh's darkly comic novel tracks the drug-induced hibernation of a New Yorker investigating the source of her ennui. *(July 12)*

HEROES AND VILLAINS

33. BLACK PANTHER

Marvel gives the movie treatment to its first black superhero (Chadwick Boseman) on a mission to save his nation. *(Feb. 16)*

34. TOMB RAIDER

Alicia Vikander steps into Lara Croft's boots in a new video-game adaptation, which finds the archaeologist excavating clues about her missing dad. *(March 18)*

35. SOLO: A STAR WARS STORY

Billed as a space Western, this spin-off launches Alden Ehrenreich into the galaxy far, far away as a young Han Solo. *(May 25)*

36. JURASSIC WORLD: FALLEN KINGDOM

Chris Pratt and Bryce Dallas Howard seek to prevent total dinosaur extinction in a sequel to the 2015 blockbuster. *(June 22)*

37. VENOM

Sony's first reportedly R-rated foray into the Marvel Universe sees Tom Hardy transform into Spider-Man's amorphous alien archenemy. *(Oct. 5)*

38. X-MEN: DARK PHOENIX

Jean Grey (Sophie Turner) develops powers that corrupt her, forcing her comrades to decide whether to save her or fight her. *(Nov. 2)*

39. FANTASTIC BEASTS: THE CRIMES OF GRINDELWALD

Newt Scamander (Eddie Redmayne) reunites with Albus Dumbledore (Jude Law) to curb the power of a menacing dark wizard. *(Nov. 18)*

—Mahita Gajanan and Megan McCluskey

MUSIC

LISTEN FOR THESE TRENDS IN 2018

BRINGING BACK THE BOY BAND

From 'N Sync and the Backstreet Boys to One Direction and 5 Seconds of Summer, boy bands come in waves, and right now a new generation of groups is cresting: there are the peppy teenage social-media stars of Why Don't We; the slick throwback grooves of a cappella–leaning PRETTYMUCH *(below);* the fan-fueled sensation of Korea's pop juggernaut BTS; the hip-hop vibes of BROCKHAMPTON; and the Latin answer to One Direction, CNCO, backed by Simon Cowell. Diverse in sound and composition, it's an increasingly crowded field.

THE LATIN TAKEOVER

"Despacito (Remix)" by Luis Fonsi and Daddy Yankee *(right)* broke records in its path to global domination in 2017. It also cleared the field for a flood of follow-up hits with Latin roots, like J Balvin's "Mi Gente" (with a Beyoncé remix), Camila Cabello's "Havana" and DJ Khaled's "Wild Thoughts," each of which riffed on traditionally Latin musical styles like reggaeton and samba. The past few years saw plenty of dancehall and Caribbean rhythms in pop and electronic music, but the rise—and return—of artists like Shakira, Jennifer Lopez and Maluma indicate that the Spanish-language takeover is picking up steam.

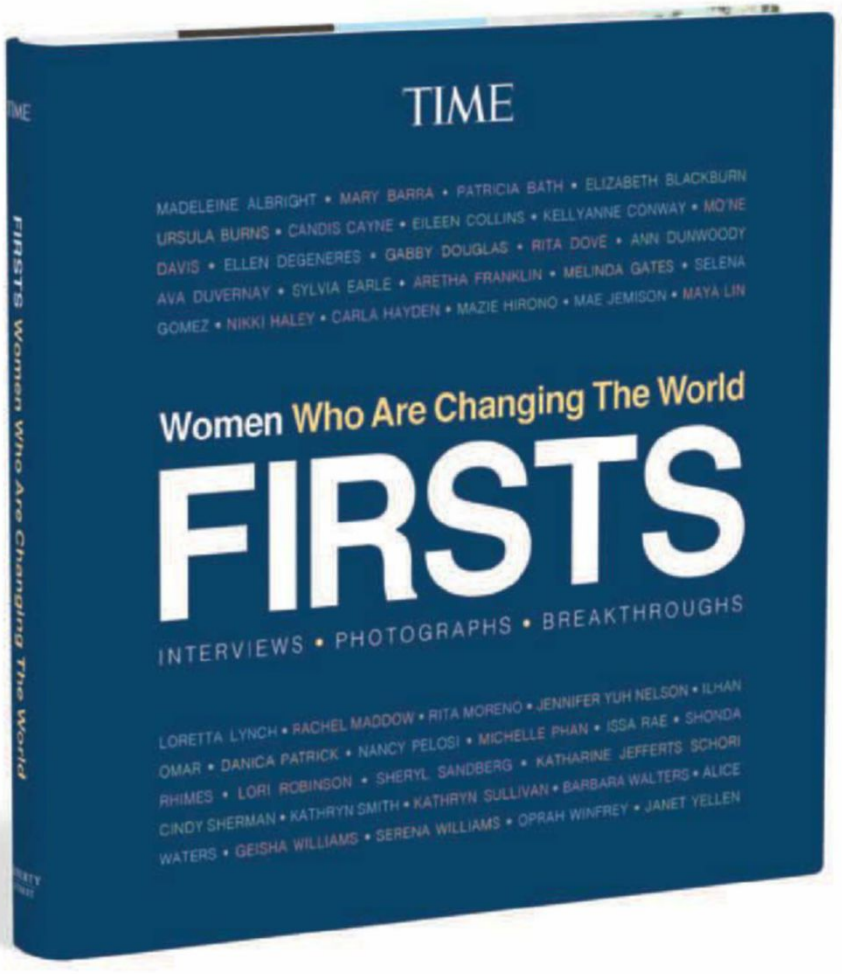
LADIES FIRST ON R&B

R&B is finding a new direction, thanks to the visionary women pushing the genre forward. From SZA's Grammy-nominated debut to the soulful, politically minded sound of Solange *(left),* there's a whole new soundscape emerging from this mix of personalities with distinct musical—and emotional—perspectives. This alt-R&B is female-first, lyrically vulnerable and delivered with precision; it's a fresh genre pioneered by artists settling into their new seats at the table. *—Raisa Bruner*

BOHEMIAN RHAPSODY: 20TH CENTURY FOX; MARY POPPINS: DISNEY; MEAN GIRLS: JOAN MARCUS; BLACK PANTHER: MARVEL; WAITHE, PRETTYMUCH, FONSI AND YANKEE, SOLANGE: GETTY IMAGES

“My mom always used to say, ‘*Inspire a generation.*’”

—Gabby Douglas, *Olympic champion gymnast*


TIME
MADELEINE ALBRIGHT • MARY BARRA • PATRICIA BATH • ELIZABETH BLACKBURN
URSULA BURNS • CANDIS CAYNE • EILEEN COLLINS • KELLYANNE CONWAY • MO'NE
DAVIS • ELLEN DEGENERES • GABBY DOUGLAS • RITA DOVE • ANN DUNWOODY
AVA DUVERNAY • SYLVIA EARLE • ARETHA FRANKLIN • MELINDA GATES • SELENA
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RHIMES • LORI ROBINSON • SHERYL SANDBERG • KATHARINE JEFFERTS SCHORI
CINDY SHERMAN • KATHRYN SMITH • KATHRYN SULLIVAN • BARBARA WALTERS • ALICE
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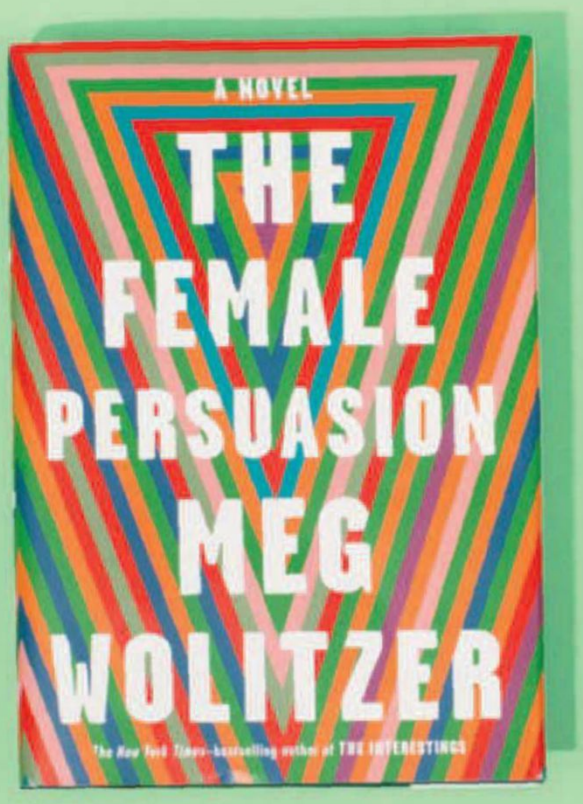


FICTION

Playing the woman card

BY SARAH BEGLEY

MEG WOLITZER HAS BUILT HER REPUTATION BY tapping into the zeitgeist, particularly as it relates to women, from the inequities within a marriage in *The Wife* (2003) to a teen girl grappling with death in the YA novel *Belzhar* (2014). When it's published in the spring, *The Female Persuasion* will be her first book for adults since her 2013 smash hit *The Interestings*. Much has changed in the feminist movement, and for all women, since then, and this book observes those changes with a gimlet eye.

"I don't think I'm any kind of a Cassandra, of course. These are things that we've all been thinking about for a long time," Wolitzer tells TIME. "But it's true that in this moment, there is a particular kind of pointed tension."

The Female Persuasion is the story of Greer Kadetsky, a bright young woman who takes an interest in feminism after a frat boy gropes her at a party—and then gets away with even worse on campus. Soon after, Greer has a fortuitous encounter with a famous feminist who later takes her under her wing and gives her a job as a speechwriter. "We can use the word *mentor*—I find that word so formal—but it's the idea of someone older who you look up to and admire, taking you up in some way," Wolitzer says of Greer's professional connection. "I wanted to write about the people you meet who change your life forever."

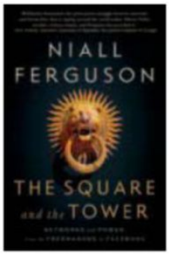
Wolitzer names such figures from her own life, including her high school English teacher Reine Kidder, the mother of author Tracy Kidder, and Nora Ephron, who adapted Wolitzer's first book, *This Is My Life*, into a film. "Good mentors don't have an agenda," she says. "They don't need you to be a certain way, to be a mini version of them."

Faith Frank, the feminist around whom Greer orbits in *The Female Persuasion*, may resemble Gloria Steinem to readers, but "there's only one Gloria, and that is the truth," Wolitzer says. "I want to live in a parallel universe in which there are a lot more really famous feminists. So I created one." Faith faces the same criticism that nonfictional second-wave feminists do: that her work is less relevant for women of color, that she has a white-savior complex, that her goals are too capitalistic.

"Saying, 'What could we do better, how could we change?,' is something that people in movements need to do," Wolitzer says. "As a fiction writer, though, I think my role is just to observe that that is going on."

It's difficult to imagine exactly how the fast-moving sexual-misconduct stories will have changed the culture by the time the novel comes out in April, she adds. "But it won't shake down one way. Nothing does," she says. "A lot of things will keep happening, and then other things will pave over that, and then more will happen." ◻

BIG IDEAS IN EARLY-2018 NONFICTION

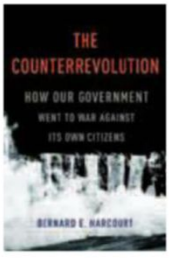


THE SQUARE AND THE TOWER Historian Niall Ferguson posits that much of human history has been shaped by networks—the Illuminati, Facebook—rather than hierarchies.

ALGORITHMS OF OPPRESSION The tools we use to search the Internet reflect embedded racism and sexism, argues USC communications professor Safiya Umoja Noble.

THE GENTLE ART OF SWEDISH DEATH CLEANING Artist Margareta Magnusson encourages late-in-life decluttering, a practice less morbid than it sounds and an opportunity to reflect on life before it ends.

UNSCALED Gone are the days of buying factories and building massive staffs. Now, venture capitalist Hemant Taneja says, companies thrive by "renting" the technologies they need.



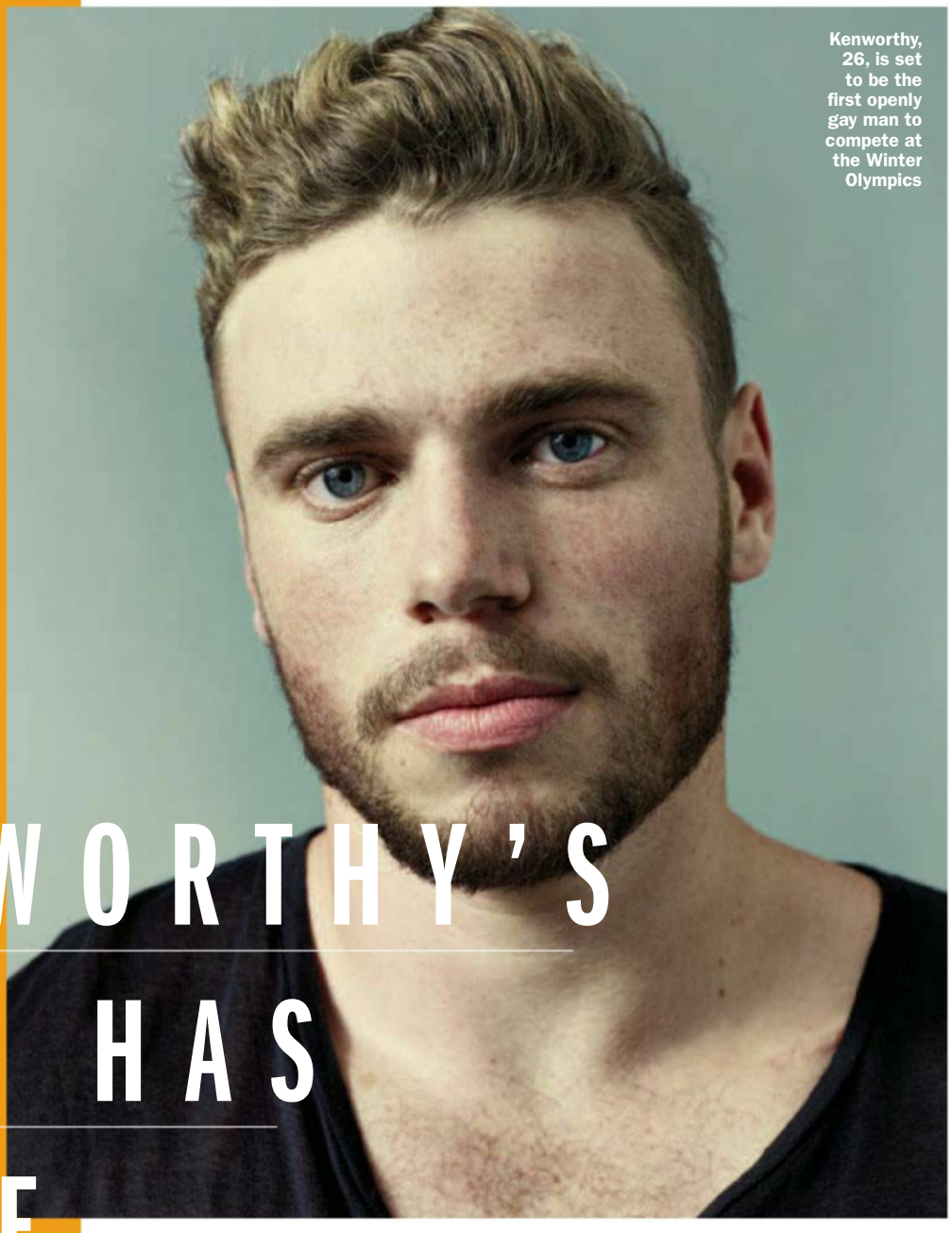
THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION The U.S. government, says Columbia University political theorist Bernard E. Harcourt, has come to treat ordinary Americans like insurgents—even though the public hasn't revolted.

—Lucy Feldman

AN AMERICAN SKIER IS READY TO FACE THE WORLD

BY SEAN GREGORY

GUS KENWORTHY'S TIME HAS COME



Kenworthy, 26, is set to be the first openly gay man to compete at the Winter Olympics

GUS KENWORTHY WAS SUPPOSED TO BE HAPPY. THE AMERICAN freestyle skier had just won a silver medal at the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi, Russia, and now he was being interviewed by NBC the day after—Valentine's Day, of all days—and asked to name his Valentine's crush. This sort of make-cute gag shouldn't send an athlete who earns his living doing twisting flips down mountains into a stomach-churning panic. But Kenworthy didn't know what to say. His boyfriend? Real celebrity crushes like Zac Efron or Jake Gyllenhaal? None seemed like

the best way to come out to the world.

Kenworthy settled on Miley Cyrus, which didn't help. The NBC Olympics Twitter account broadcast his "crush" to the world. The pop star gushed on social media about a photo of Kenworthy holding four stray dogs—a rescue effort he had undertaken with the person he was afraid to identify as his boyfriend. Kenworthy soon became a celebrity heartthrob in his own right, cool enough to conquer a death-defying sport while cuddling puppies in his spare time. And it tore him up inside. "I mean, I love Miley Cyrus, she's great," Kenworthy says during a late-November interview with TIME. "But I just remember feeling very dishonest."

It was a feeling he says he never wanted to have again. "It made me realize I don't want to be in the same situation in another Olympics," he says. In October 2015, after winning a fifth straight Association of Freeskiing Professionals overall world title, Kenworthy came out publicly in *ESPN the Magazine*. Now he is on track to become the first openly gay male athlete to ever compete at the Winter Games, which begin on Feb. 9 in PyeongChang, South Korea.

The distinction makes Kenworthy an ambassador, and the 26-year-old skier has embraced the role. He has since told his story on stages large and small, on TV before millions of viewers and on social media, answering questions from fans. His public stance has inspired others to come forward. In a 2016 article titled "I Am Gus," a columnist for the Aspen *Daily News* wrote, "There is one person that bears the most responsibility for motivating me to finally do what is right: Gus Kenworthy."

Not surprisingly for someone who found success after speaking out, Kenworthy doesn't bite his tongue. That's rare for Olympians, who are counseled to steer clear of politics lest they offend viewers who see the Games as an escape or the corporate sponsors on which the athletes depend. But Kenworthy says he feels an obligation to push back against President Donald Trump over moves like his attempt to bar transgender people from serving in the military. "That is just a direct attack on the LGBT community," Kenworthy says. "It shows more courage to leave the house as a trans person than Trump has ever had to show."

Team USA members are traditionally invited to the White House after the Olympics. Kenworthy says he won't accept an offer from the President. "I have no interest in faking support," Kenworthy says.

But first, Kenworthy has a much more pressing battle. He is a strong medal contender in PyeongChang, and the U.S. will be counting on him to bolster its overall medal haul. Extreme events like freeskiing and snowboarding are typically a reliable source of hardware for America's winter athletes, particularly at an Olympics where the U.S. lacks firepower in glamour events like women's figure skating. That Kenworthy is in this position at all shows how much the nation he represents has grown.

"I don't think I could have come out as a gay athlete 30 years ago and expected to be successful in my sport," says Kenworthy. "My story's indicative of change."

KENWORTHY GREW UP in the ski town of Telluride, Colo., the youngest of three boys. Instead of hitting the high-speed alpine runs, he was drawn to a terrain park, where he and his buddies could hop on rails and other obstacles, like skateboarders on skis. "Even when he walked along the street, he never kept his feet on the ground," says Kenworthy's

'I don't think I could have come out as a gay athlete 30 years ago and expected to be successful.'

PETER HAPAK—TRUNK ARCHIVE

THE YEAR IN SPORTS

GLOBAL GAMES

The coming year brings several big-ticket international events, including the XXIII Winter Olympics, beginning on Feb. 9 in PyeongChang, South Korea. Competition there will continue on March 9 for the XXIII Winter Paralympic Games. The men's FIFA World Cup will kick off on June 14 in Moscow.

SPEED DEMONS

Tens of thousands of runners will compete in the Boston Marathon on April 16; cyclists will speed through the three-week-long Tour de France starting on July 7, and auto racers will compete in the Australian Grand Prix, the first of the 21-race Formula One World Championship, on March 25. On May 5 the Kentucky Derby will be the first leg in horse racing's coveted Triple Crown.

TEAM SPIRIT

Super Bowl LII is scheduled for Feb. 4. The NCAA's March Madness college basketball tournament will begin on March 13, while the NHL's top teams will face off in the Stanley Cup playoffs starting on April 11. The NBA Finals are set to begin on May 31, and baseball's best will battle for the 2018 World Series starting on Oct. 23.

SOLO ACTS

The extreme-sports X Games will open on Jan. 25 in Aspen, Colo. The Masters, the first of golf's major championships on the calendar, will tee off on April 5 in Augusta, Ga. And in tennis, the first Grand Slam tournament of the year, the Australian Open, will start on Jan. 15.

—Jennifer Calfas

mother, Pip, who worked at a mountain bar. "He'd walk along a wall, a bench, a ledge, turning, flipping, spinning."

Kenworthy was a natural, and his timing was ideal: the trick-heavy form of skiing known as freestyle was growing in popularity and becoming a larger part of mainstream competitions. But he almost gave it all up when he was 14, after watching his close friend Brooks "Hoot" Brown die in a gruesome accident. Brown slipped off a snow-grooming machine and got caught in the tracks.

Kenworthy, who was struggling with his sexuality, says he remembers wishing that they could have traded places. That way, Brown would still be alive and Kenworthy would never have to share his secret. "Then everyone would have remembered me in this amazing way, and no one would have ever had to find out that I was gay," he says.

Kenworthy says he kept skiing in part to honor his friend. He earned a reputation for hard work and fearlessness, always game to experiment with a new trick. He was driven in part by the secret gnawing away at him. "I pushed myself to compensate for this other thing that I thought was wrong with me at the time," Kenworthy says.

It didn't help that freeskiing culture oozed machismo. The top skiers boasted about competing after a night of partying and the women they took home. Homophobic taunts were common. *Fag* was a term of ridicule. Bad tricks were dismissed as "gay." "When you hear language like that getting thrown around, it puts you in a closet even more than you were before," Kenworthy says.

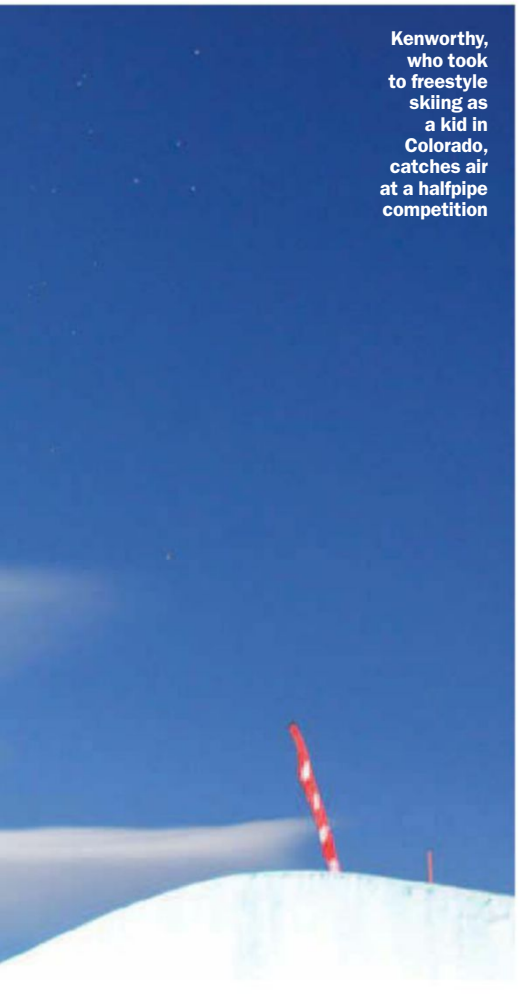
Kenworthy had been dating Robin Macdonald, a photographer and filmmaker, for years, but he kept it quiet. In public, he called Macdonald a friend. Still, some members of the small community of elite freeskiers began whispering about the relationship, and it wasn't long before Kenworthy says the taunts rolled in. Once, when he was late for a training session, a skier Kenworthy had long admired called him a "fag." "I hated him," he says, "and felt so awful about myself."

'Since day one, he's been the most ambitious skier I've ever met. It's amazing what the combination of talent, fearlessness and big-picture thinking can do.'

JUSTIN DOREY, former professional freestyle skier

As he did so many times before, Kenworthy channeled his anger and released it on the mountain. He was a key part of the U.S. men's team that swept the slopestyle podium in Sochi, and his work to help the stray dogs living under the media center's security checkpoint turned him into a celebrity. *People* put a picture of Kenworthy holding pups, alongside Ellen DeGeneres, on its cover. And then there was the Cyrus fauxmance.

Inside, however, Kenworthy's world was crumbling. He had bristled when U.S. officials recommended that Olympians avoid discussing Russia's antigay policies, and he was still angry at himself for dodging that crush question on TV. Then, after the Olympics, his relationship with Macdonald started



Kenworthy, who took to freestyle skiing as a kid in Colorado, catches air at a halfpipe competition

to splinter, and they eventually broke up. (Macdonald still cares for two of the dogs; Kenworthy's mother looks after another one, and two others died.)

After a horrendous performance at the 2015 X Games, Kenworthy melted down in his car. "I don't want to f-cking do this anymore," he told his agent. "I don't want to be judged all the time." The agent convinced him to at least finish out the season.

That night, Kenworthy went to a party in Aspen and turned down a model who had hit on him. "What are you, gay?" his friend Justin Dorey, a former pro skier, remembers asking him. "Yes," Kenworthy replied, "I am." Dorey was instantly supportive, and Kenworthy says it was as if a 10-ton weight had been lifted. He resolved to come out—but first he wanted to finish the season with a title. "No one can talk sh-t when you're the best," Kenworthy says. His mind unburdened, he won a string of events and took the season's overall title.

He started privately revealing his sexuality to family members and more friends and says the support was unequivocal. Kenworthy's public coming-out story landed that October. The same day, the skier who had ridiculed him for missing training called, choked up. He apologized, insisting he never meant to hurt Kenworthy. He was the last person Kenworthy had expected to hear from. Oh my God, Kenworthy remembers thinking. This is going to be a much better experience than I had imagined.

The subsequent ski season was the best of Kenworthy's career. And he says he's noticed a change among the other guys on the mountain. "They'll be like, This is so ga- … lame," Kenworthy says. "That actually means a lot to me."

Sponsors, meanwhile, have come calling. Visa, Procter & Gamble, United Airlines and Deloitte are among his major corporate backers. Organizations like the Human Rights Campaign have honored him. And almost daily, he says, messages pour in on Instagram. A mother told him she reconnected with her gay son; another mom named her son Gus. They say his courage inspired them to find their own.

ALL OF THIS would mean little if Kenworthy were not one of the best freestyle skiers in the world. "Since day one, he's been the most ambitious skier I've ever met," says Dorey. "It's amazing what the combination of talent, fearlessness and big-picture thinking can do."

In PyeongChang, Kenworthy plans to compete in both slopestyle and half-pipe skiing—and he is a contender to medal in both. In Sochi, the U.S. won three gold medals in freestyle skiing. Expectations are even higher this time around.

That ratchets up even more pressure on Kenworthy, whose face will be on corporate billboards and whose story will be featured in NBC's Olympics coverage. Then there's the added weight of being a first. "He's not necessarily able to let loose and have as much fun as he used to," says Matthew Wilkas, an actor and Kenworthy's current boyfriend. "He's moodier. He grinds his teeth at night. I can wake up and hear it. I have to nudge him."

Kenworthy's father Peter, a community television executive, worries that there are too many demands on his son's time. "It's not just about appearances in front of the camera," says Peter. "I want him to cultivate the depths of his soul as well."

Kenworthy insists that he has a handle on it all. And while he knows these Games will be far different than the last, he relishes his pioneering opportunity in PyeongChang.

"The thought of being the first openly gay male ever to compete in the Winter Olympics—I totally embrace that," says Kenworthy. "I so badly want to inspire that community and do well for them. It's f-cking cool." □

A HOPE FOR 2018

NEYMAR

Athlete

I will compete in another World Cup, and I dream of winning it. But the happiness that the World Cup represents for the Brazilians wouldn't be enough. I dream that in 2018, Brazilians will be able to elect governors committed to education, health care and the future of our children. Only then, winning inside and outside the pitch, will we have a reason to celebrate.

Neymar, a Brazilian soccer star, was transferred to Paris Saint-Germain in August for $263 million, a global record. The World Cup final will be held in July

TIM CLAYTON—CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES; PORTRAIT BY PHIL NOTO FOR TIME

A YOUNG STAR GROWS UP, ON AND OFF CAMERA

BY ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

YARA SHAHIDI'S MASTER CLASS

black-ish star Shahidi is getting her own spin-off, *grown-ish*, before heading off to college herself next fall

MOST TEENAGERS WOULD TRADE THEIR smartphones for the opportunity Yara Shahidi is getting: a trial run at her first few months of college. The actor who plays Zoey, the eldest daughter of the Johnson family on the ABC sitcom *black-ish,* will star in a spin-off, *grown-ish,* about a group of students at a fictional California college. The show launches on Jan. 3 on Freeform before Shahidi heads off to Harvard in real life next fall.

black-ish has struck a balance between a nuanced treatment of issues like race and class and the tonal levity required of a traditional family comedy. On *grown-ish,* Zoey will navigate a whole new set of questions for a different generation: Does *hooking up* mean kissing or sex? Which pronouns do her friends prefer—*him*? *Her*? *Them*?

They're urgent questions for Zoey, who may be popular and savvy on social media but has previously led a sheltered life. Not so for Shahidi, who at 17 has become one of the leading voices of Generation Z. The daughter of an Iranian cinematographer and a black actor, Shahidi hails from a politically conscious family. Her grandfather was involved in the civil rights movement, and she was raised on a diet of James Baldwin. Shahidi started acting in commercials when she was just 6 months old. Since *black-ish* premiered in 2014, she's used her status as a rising star to bring attention to issues like Black Lives Matter and encourage girls to study science and technology. Capitalizing on her platform for change is important to Shahidi. "The red carpets and the nice clothes can all feel pointless with everything else happening in the world," she says.

Social media has played an integral part in her activism. Earlier this year, when President Trump first proposed restrictions on immigration from predominantly Muslim countries, Shahidi posted an emotional tribute to her parents' love story on her Instagram page, noting that she is a product of "black and Iranian love." "Immigrants don't threaten safety—stereotypical narratives that promote hate do," Shahidi wrote. Her use of social media helped earn her an NAACP Image Award when she was just 15 and the attention of First Lady Michelle Obama, who wrote her a college recommendation letter.

'There's no room for wasted media in this sociopolitical age.'

YARA SHAHIDI on television and politics

Shahidi has sworn to work only on projects that address social issues. *grown-ish,* which was created and produced by *black-ish* creator Kenya Barris, is no exception. "I fervently believe that there's no room for wasted media in this sociopolitical age," Shahidi says. "It's important that we understand the impact that each story we tell is making on the community that we represent." That's especially true of portrayals of young women. "The narratives we typically tell about young women of color are either being downtrodden or being so superhuman that it's unrelatable. What Kenya has done in both *black-ish* and *grown-ish* is have characters who are thriving but still have moments of uncertainty and realness."

WHILE *BLACK-ISH* was created with the whole family in mind, *grown-ish* was built for a slightly different demographic. "It's definitely edgier," says Shahidi. "It's called *grown-ish* for a reason." Like most teens her age, Zoey will confront social pressures around sex, drugs and alcohol. ("There is some of Zoey in Yara and Yara in Zoey, but Zoey dabbles in things Yara doesn't mess around with," Shahidi says.) However, *grown-ish* is no after-school special. Zoey will also have to develop her political identity: when the university threatens to shut down a black dorm, Zoey must argue that students creating housing for different groups on campus is "congregation, not segregation."

The spin-off comes at a time of upheaval at many colleges. Campuses are getting more political as students deal with the trickle-down effect of Trump's policies, like whether or not some international students will still be able to study in the U.S. or how universities deal with sexual assault. "I think we lived in a progressive bubble," Shahidi says. "And with this Administration, there's no option to be nonpolitical anymore. That's pushed people to develop a political identity at a much younger age. You see that in college."

That'll be no sweat for Shahidi. She plans to double-major in sociology and African-American studies when she gets to Harvard. She can't vote yet, but she's already built up a formidable résumé. ☐

SHAHIDI: SEAN THOMAS—MANAGEMENT+ARTISTS/AUGUST; SIMMONS: GETTY IMAGES

TELEVISION

SEEING DOUBLE

J.K. Simmons' latest project, the Starz drama *Counterpart* (Jan. 21), has him engaged in high-stakes espionage, but the actor is keeping the show grounded. "I'm just trying to play a believable human being," he says. "Or in this case, two of them."

That's right: the Oscar winner, best known for roles like the sadistic conductor in *Whiplash* and a white supremacist on *Oz,* plays Howard, a meek cog within a mysterious governing system. He moonlights as Howard Prime, another version, who appears once it becomes clear that his bosses are concealing a parallel universe. Howard Prime is everything Howard isn't: confident, brash, assured. In other words, he's a J.K. Simmons character.

But it's the mild-mannered Howard—like a sci-fi version of John le Carré's George Smiley, a functionary drawn into wild intrigue—that made the job attractive to Simmons. "I was getting plenty of offers to play the guy who berates everybody in the wake of *Whiplash,*" he says. Now Simmons gets to absorb the insults—even as they're coming from himself.

That the actor is shedding some of his gruff onscreen persona makes the case literal. He describes it as—what else?—"the best of both worlds."

—Daniel D'Addario

HOLLYWOOD

In a post-Weinstein world, what comes of all the projects?

BY DANIEL D'ADDARIO

THE SECOND HALF OF 2017 SAW A stunning number of men in Hollywood (among other industries) fall from their powerful perches as a result of allegations of sexual assault or misconduct. What started with the downfall of Harvey Weinstein became perhaps the most seismic shift the entertainment industry has ever undergone. The foremost consideration, of course, is the survivors who have come forward and the pain and suffering they've endured. But another consequence is the extraordinary volume of projects once slated for release in 2018 whose fates have shifted, or are now in limbo. Perhaps never is the degree to which alleged abusers amassed power more clear than when considering the number of projects, and collaborators, their actions have now harmed.

The list of canceled works includes productions halted before they even began, like a planned HBO film about the 2016 election based on the reporting of now disgraced journalist (and former TIME employee) Mark Halperin and an Amazon series starring Robert De Niro and Julianne Moore that was to have been produced by the Weinstein Co. It also includes works that were very much under way, or even completed, before it was decided that their release would be canceled. Louis CK, for instance, had been producing and was set to star in the planned animated sitcom *The Cops,* which was indefinitely suspended by its network, TBS. "We now find ourselves out of a job right before the holidays," the show's art director Francis Giglio wrote on Facebook. *Vanity Fair* reported that nearly 100 staffers from the show were laid off shortly after the allegations against CK first went public, and there seemed to be little optimism that production would continue. "I know this isn't about me, but I was really excited to voice a cartoon character," said performer Jen Richards on Twitter. "To have a badass, openly trans character on network TV would have been awesome."

Richards' delicately threaded needle—she, like others, expressed support for CK's accusers publicly, along with her own disappointment—gets at what's so tricky about the fate of now-canceled art. A lot of it might have served a social good, even as what seems the greater social good is to remove power from the hands of those who abuse it.

'When you work hard on something, you want people to see it.'

MICHAEL STUHLBARG, actor, to the *Hollywood Reporter,* about Netflix's Gore Vidal biopic *Gore,* in which he co-starred opposite Kevin Spacey; the film's release has been canceled

AND THEN THERE'S simply the desire for artists like Richards to have their work seen and evaluated on its own merits. "When you work hard on something, you want people to see it. I think there's a desire for us to maybe have that happen," actor Michael Stuhlbarg said after the release of the Kevin Spacey film *Gore,* in which he played a part, was canceled. In many cases, that may prove impossible. While past works of the Weinstein Co. or Spacey or CK may be tough to discard given those projects' existing repute, it's hard to imagine how a new film like *Gore* would end up in front of viewers, or who would care to see it.

Some art touched by scandal may yet find its audience. While the Weinstein Co.'s film *The Current War,* meant to be a player in this year's Oscar race, has been pushed indefinitely, its previously scheduled release of *Paddington 2* in January will go ahead as planned after Warner Bros. acquired rights to the movie. That a sequel to the story about a clumsy ursine from Peru can find itself, if briefly, jeopardized by the actions of one of Hollywood's predators proves how far the malign forces spread.

With these creators now sidelined, perhaps the next wave of projects, from dramatic films to cartoon shows, will come from creators who simply make their hardworking collaborators proud. And if many projects must end up discarded in order to begin bringing Hollywood toward justice—and redress the balance for so many careers that ended prematurely after harassed and abused women left the industry—that's a small price to pay. ☐

GETTY IMAGES (4)

HEROES

THE NEXT WONDER WOMEN

In 2017, *Wonder Woman* took Hollywood by storm. A litany of fighting females will pick up her mantle in 2018. —*Eliana Dockterman*

TARAJI P. HENSON

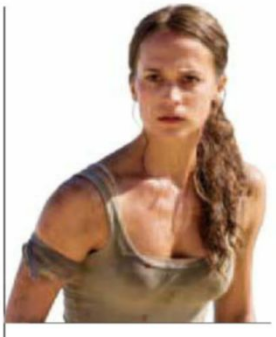
Proud Mary (Jan. 12)

Best known as *Empire*'s scene-stealing matriarch Cookie, the Oscar-nominated actor goes full-on action hero in *Proud Mary*. Henson will give James Bond a run for his money as a ruthless assassin whose life is turned upside down when a planned hit for the Boston Mob goes wrong.

NATALIE PORTMAN

Annihilation (Feb. 23)

Finally, a sci-fi movie starring female scientists. In this film, adapted from Jeff VanderMeer's novel, a biologist (Portman) searches for her missing husband (Oscar Isaac) in an environmental disaster zone. A group of experts including Tessa Thompson *(Thor: Ragnarok)* and Gina Rodriguez *(Jane the Virgin)* aid her in her quest.



ALICIA VIKANDER

Tomb Raider (March 16)

Despite being one of the gaming world's most enduring protagonists, Lara Croft—and unfortunately, her figure—has always been a lightning rod for fans and critics alike. In a new movie based on a recent video-game reboot, Vikander's Croft has a more athletic build and a compelling origin story.

RIHANNA AND SANDRA BULLOCK

Ocean's 8 (June 8)

Bullock plays Debbie Ocean, the ex-con sister of Danny (George Clooney in Steven Soderbergh's *Ocean's* trilogy), who leads a group of thieves that crash the Met Gala to steal a priceless necklace. The all-star cast includes Rihanna, Cate Blanchett, Anne Hathaway, Mindy Kaling and Sarah Paulson.

HOLLY HUNTER

The Incredibles 2 (June 15)

Thirteen years after the first *Incredibles* film, Hunter's Elastigirl is still one of the few female superheroes to grace the big screen—and among the even smaller cohort of superpowered mothers. The sequel will pick up where the previous film left off, with the family members' learning to embrace their powers.

SOPHIE TURNER

Dark Phoenix (Nov. 2)

The *X-Men* franchise has always featured a range of female superheroes, including good and evil mutants. In *Dark Phoenix,* Jean Grey (played by *Game of Thrones*' Turner) is both—struggling to navigate the light and the dark as she battles a mysterious villain played by Jessica Chastain.

HENSON: SONY PICTURES; PORTMAN: PARAMOUNT; VIKANDER: WARNER BROS.; RIHANNA, BULLOCK: GETTY IMAGES; HUNTER: EVERETT; TURNER: 20TH CENTURY FOX; ILLUSTRATION BY PHIL NOTO FOR TIME

A HOPE FOR 2018

KEVIN KWAN

Author

I'd like to rebalance my life. I'm really looking forward to switching gears and slowing down a bit. I regularly meditate, and one thing I'm excited about is trying qigong—an ancient practice, similar to tai chi, that is all about slowing down the way you move and letting the energy flow. I think rebalancing will boost my creativity, which is good because I'm going to be producing and writing a TV show next year; when I'm traveling and touring, I find it hard to think. So I'm looking forward to having much more relaxation time, building up fewer air miles and living a healthier life.

Kwan is a Singaporean-born novelist whose best seller Crazy Rich Asians *has been adapted into a movie, due out in August*

2,500

Number of actors Alden Ehrenreich reportedly beat out to land the role of young Han Solo in *Solo: A Star Wars Story,* coming in May

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Q&A

The Broadway star who wants to teach you a history lesson

BY DANIEL D'ADDARIO

Wry Tony winner Nathan Lane goes dark as the vindictive, closeted power broker Roy Cohn in the upcoming Broadway revival of Angels in America, *the defining epic of the AIDS crisis. It opens March 25 and also stars Andrew Garfield.*

Did you see *Angels in America* in its first run? I saw it on Broadway. I knew a little about Roy Cohn, and I just got swept up in [playwright] Tony Kushner's language. I hadn't seen anything like that before. The combination of the emotions of the personal relationships and people dealing with AIDS and also the political stuff. It was thrilling, and it was incredibly funny as well. But it's not a part that was on my radar.

Putting the play on at this moment, with Cohn acolyte Donald Trump serving as President, makes a particular kind of statement. In many ways that remains to be seen. We're just going to do the play, and people will see what they want to see in it. But certainly Trump learned many lessons from Roy; he just uses a cruder, more primitive version of what Roy taught him. He does tend to follow a lot of the Roy Cohn rule book.

'It's an athletic event, and you have to live like a nun.'

***Angels in America* includes two parts that run some 7½ hours—during which your character is dying a protracted death. What do you draw upon to keep going?** It's just about taking care of yourself and going to bed and getting enough rest and eating properly. It's an athletic event, and you have to live like a nun. The material itself guides you and gives you inspiration, and if you just trust it, it will take you there.

The play, as written, portrays Cohn as both a villain and something more complex. You have to play a human being, and those people never think of themselves as monsters. They think they're in the right and they're doing what they should be doing. My job is to make him a human being. Because underneath the machinations and the vile things he says, there's that little kid who learned very early that being different, being Jewish, being gay was not a good thing, and he was never going to allow himself to be vulnerable to those attacks. Whatever created that person, that's what you're after, the truth of that and what made him turn into this creature we saw lurking around Studio 54. It was this bizarre thing that he would not let go of. He had this strange thing where he would flaunt it and still deny it. It's part of what destroyed him. Somebody said he was in a neon closet.

Things have changed a great deal for gay men since *Angels in America* was first performed, in 1991. Do you think the play itself has been part of that change? As far as we've come, we've got a long way to go. While we were rehearsing, people would talk about the '80s and how this was a period piece. Being a living artifact of the '70s and '80s, there was stuff I could talk about. For some people it's a history lesson, and I think it's important for people to look back at where we were. Some young people don't realize that getting AIDS was a death sentence. One hopes it provokes conversations about our history.

You spent seven months in the London production, leaving your husband [producer Devlin Elliott] and dog behind. What is being in a partnership as a creative person like? I was able to make that decision because of him supporting me and saying, "You have to go do this, you have to play this part. You'll regret it if you don't. We'll make it work. I will come over, and we'll make it work." Being home certainly makes it easier and more pleasant. But this isn't a part, I must say, that I carry around with me. I almost hesitate to say how much I enjoy being Roy Cohn. To get to play scenes like what Tony has written! There's nothing better. And so it hasn't been a lot of wear and tear on the psyche. It's not something I go home and fret about. I'm not saying it's easy, but it's also very enjoyable when it works.

WALTER MCBRIDE—GETTY IMAGES

NEXT YEAR'S MILESTONE ANNIVERSARIES

5 YEARS since the Boston Marathon bombing, in which two explosions near the finish line left three dead and more than 260 injured. Dzhokhar Tsarnaev—whose accomplice brother was killed during the ensuing manhunt—was found guilty of the bombing two years later and sentenced to death. **(April 15)**

10 YEARS since President George W. Bush signed legislation authorizing a $700 billion package to bail out Wall Street, five days after the Dow Jones industrial average dropped a record 777.68 points in a single day. **(Oct. 3)**

15 YEARS since the National Do Not Call Registry debuted to provide Americans with a new way to avoid telemarketing calls. It racked up more than 10 million sign-ups in its first four days. **(June 27)**

20 YEARS since the last episode of *Seinfeld* aired on NBC, after nine seasons. Nielsen reported that more than 76 million people tuned in for the finale of the sitcom famously about nothing. **(May 14)**

25 YEARS since the U.S. Senate confirmed Ruth Bader Ginsburg's nomination to the Supreme Court. The 96-3 vote made her the second woman on the bench, after Sandra Day O'Connor. **(Aug. 3)**

40 YEARS since *Grease,* the film adaptation of the hit Broadway musical, came to theaters. Starring John Travolta and Olivia Newton-John, it featured earworms not in the original version, such as "Sandy" and "You're the One That I Want." **(June 16)**

50 YEARS since the tumult of 1968. *(See right.)*

70 YEARS since President Harry S. Truman signed into law a bill that authorized the Marshall Plan, which would distribute some $13 billion—well over $100 billion in 2017 dollars—to help European nations rebuild after World War II. **(April 3)**

80 YEARS since Germany, Britain, France and Italy signed the Munich Agreement that allowed Adolf Hitler to annex the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia—an act of appeasement that arguably empowered the Nazi leader to invade Poland a year later, triggering World War II. **(Sept. 30)**

90 YEARS since Mickey Mouse made his film debut as the captain in the eight-minute *Steamboat Willie,* Disney's first cartoon short to feature synchronized sound. **(Nov. 18)**

100 YEARS since World War I officially ended, following Germany's signing of an armistice agreement in a railway carriage near Compiègne, France. **(Nov. 11)**

—Olivia B. Waxman

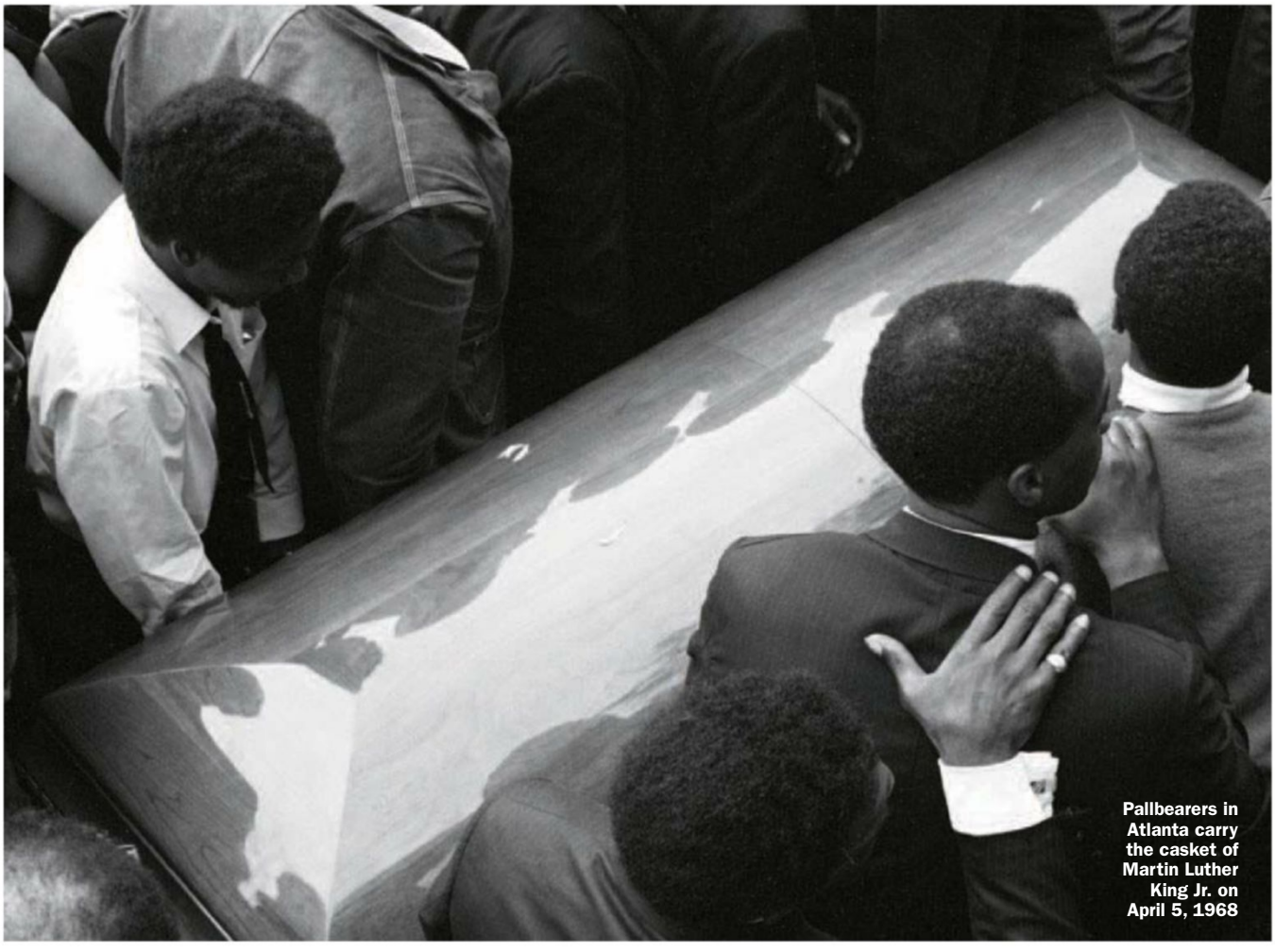
LESSONS FOR 2018 FROM ONE OF AMERICA'S MOST TUMULTUOUS YEARS

IT WAS A YEAR MARKED BY A racially coded law-and-order campaign pitted against a fierce social-justice resistance, the unrest and defiance of a "troubled and troublesome" young generation, questions about gun control in the wake of devastating violence, and the "fear and frustration and anger" that defined a presidential election.

That year was 1968—which saw the election of Richard Nixon; the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy; and widespread protests against racism, sexism and the Vietnam War. Ahead of the 50th anniversaries of those world-shaking events, the questions and concerns that then drove the national conversation remain strikingly relevant. In the midst of another period of protest and partisanship, those who lived through and studied 1968 point to lessons from one of America's most tumultuous years that may help make sense of the country today.

When it comes to politics, historians see similarities in partisanship, as well as internal party divisions fueling a feeling of disruption. Jeremi Suri, a history professor at the University of Texas at Austin who has written about the global impact of 1968, says that while such changes might spell trouble for a political party, they've often been good for the nation long term, forcing debates about fundamental cultural disagreements.

He sees another parallel in the role of young people driving that change. Democrats owe their victories in recent elections in Virginia and Alabama to a surge in turnout from young voters and



Pallbearers in Atlanta carry the casket of Martin Luther King Jr. on April 5, 1968

black voters—in what many attributed to a backlash against President Trump. It remains to be seen whether that backlash is strong enough to bring victories to Democrats in Republican strongholds. Suri predicts that it will, anticipating a political echo of the revolt led by young people against the status quo in 1968.

On a number of issues, present-day America offers a sobering lesson about the nature of social progress. "I thought that the things we accomplished would stick—not that they would be always in danger," says Alix Kates Shulman, who helped plan a protest at the 1968 Miss America pageant, where women marched on the Atlantic City boardwalk, throwing away bras, girdles and *Playboy* magazines, while carrying signs that condemned the oppression and objectification of women. "We learned, unfortunately, that nothing was secure. And in a sense, that was a good lesson because it did keep me in it for the long run," she says.

That understanding of the enduring need for protest and the recurrence of battles over the same rights is perhaps the most important lesson of all. Few examples capture that arc as well as the black-power salute given by U.S. athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos during a medal ceremony at the 1968 Olympics. Smith and Carlos were suspended from the U.S. Olympic team and weren't widely celebrated as civil rights heroes until at least 20 years after their protest, when their radical statement was "safely confined into the textbooks of history," says Douglas Hartmann, author of *Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete*. Likewise, Hartmann predicts that the ongoing controversy over NFL players' kneeling during the national anthem to protest police brutality will be seen differently in a few decades, with catalyst Colin Kaepernick widely recognized as a leader and positive force on social-justice issues.

The events of the past year have served as a stark reminder that many old battles are new again, and that is likely to remain true in 2018. "The engine of American history is cyclical," says Suri, noting that social movements don't often change minds or policies immediately, but they matter "enormously" in the long run.

"It isn't a moment but a commitment," says Shulman, who continues to organize for women's rights today. "Instead of giving up and dropping out, when the bad things happen, you just double down and protest more." —KATIE REILLY

GETTY IMAGES (6)

Finding Home

EXIT

WEST

18 MONTHS ON THE GROUND WITH EUROPE'S MIGRANT CRISIS

BY ARYN BAKER / PHOTOGRAPHS BY LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR TIME

Nour Altallaa, her husband Yousef Alarsan and their daughter Rahaf near the Bad Berleburg camp in Germany on July 19

Finding Home

This is the final chapter of a series following three refugee families fleeing Syria. Each began 2017 with a new baby

SEVEN-YEAR-OLD SYRIAN REFUGEE WAEL ALSALEH ONLY JUST started second grade in the Greek city of Thessaloniki, and he still doesn't understand much of what his peers say. But the minute his teacher announces, in Greek, that it's time to color, he reaches for the paper and markers, and launches into his favorite image of a tall, colorful house surrounded by green grass, trees and a smiling sun. He's probably drawn 50 of those houses since he started school in October, says his teacher, Maria Liberi. "It's not complicated," she says when asked to interpret his drawings. "I think he's really longing for a home."

Wael's family has been on the move for the past five years, ever since his mother scooped him out of bed one night to escape a bombing raid on his village outside of Deir ez-Zor in 2012. They hopscotched through refugee camps and temporary shelters scattered across Syria, Turkey and Greece. Since August, the family of seven has been living in a three-bedroom apartment located across the street from the school and paid for by the United Nations' refugee body, UNHCR. For the first time, Wael, a pensive introvert whose quiet calm visibly separates him from his more rambunctious siblings, can go to school. He has a lot of catching up to do, says his teacher, "but he's bright and determined. Give him stability and he will do just fine."

Stability is not in Wael's future. After nearly two years of struggling to find a foothold in Europe, his parents have just found out that they will be granted asylum in Greece. But what should be cause for celebration is rapidly turning into trepidation. A lawyer has told them that once they get their papers, they will be treated like any other Greek resident. They will have to move out of their UNHCR-funded apartment, and they will no longer be eligible for the monthly €550 ($646) in asylum-seeker benefits that have sustained the family for the past several months. Wael's father Minhel Alsaleh, 39, an illiterate farmer who can barely speak Greek, will have to find a job in a nation with a 21% unemployment rate. "We have no choice," he says. "We will have to leave." Leave for where? "Germany. Where there are jobs. We will become refugees again."

The fact that a family of Syrian refugees who waited nearly two years to get asylum in Europe is now contemplating uprooting itself once again raises the urgent question of just how much progress the E.U. has made in managing the influx of migrants that have arrived on its shores since 2015. That year, Europe witnessed chaotic scenes of thousands of migrants coming ashore on beaches and massing at unsecured borders. German Chancellor Angela Merkel, incensed by the images of starving migrants living in squalid camps on European soil, pledged that any Syrian who could make it to Germany could apply for asylum there, effectively reversing a long-standing E.U. regulation that refugees must claim asylum in the country of first arrival. The resulting surge of migrants crossing

Taimaa Abazli and her children wait for the bus on their second full day in Estonia on April 21. The family eventually left Estonia for Germany in the hopes of finding a more welcoming environment

LYNSEY ADDARIO—VERBATIM FOR TIME

Eastern Europe strained border controls, prompting fears that Islamist militants could use the turmoil as cover to slip, unnoticed, into European capitals.

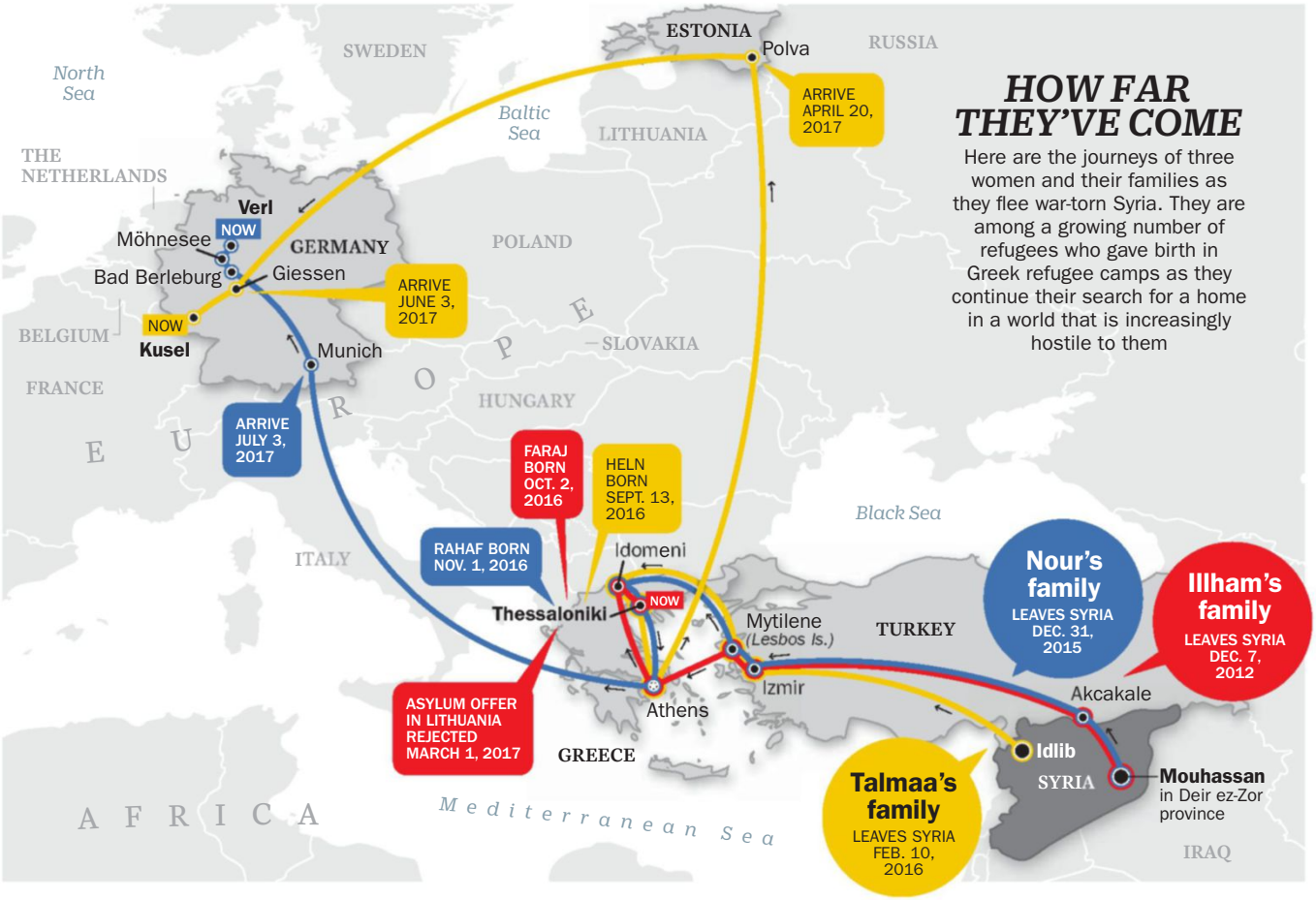
The number of new arrivals did not itself pose an existential threat; even at its peak in 2015, when a million people landed on Greek and Italian shores, the desperate newcomers numbered less than half a percent of the E.U.'s population. But populist movements capitalized on the demographic panic, and anti-migrant rhetoric became their rallying cry. The crisis played into the Brexit vote in 2016 and coursed through elections in Holland, France and Germany this year. Even when Europe's new nativists didn't gain power in legislative elections, they succeeded in pushing centrist parties to the right. As a result, nationalistic causes are entering the mainstream, and threatening the very identity of an E.U. forged from the ashes of a war over competing nationalisms. "This crisis has, in its way, become Europe's Sept. 11," says Ivan Krastev, a Vienna-based political scientist and the author of *After Europe*, which explores the future of the union, "in that it has fundamentally altered how Europe's citizens look at the world."

> ***'THIS CRISIS HAS FUNDAMENTALLY ALTERED HOW EUROPE'S CITIZENS LOOK AT THE WORLD.'***
>
> **IVAN KRASTEV**, political scientist and author

The crisis is not over. Although the numbers of asylum seekers reaching Europe have slowed to a fraction of the 2015 arrivals through a combination of deterrence measures, detentions and deportations, more than 163,000 migrants and asylum seekers still arrived by sea in 2017. More than 3,000 died in the attempt. The E.U. as a whole has yet to come up with a solution. Over two years after the image of a drowned Syrian toddler on a Turkish beach ricocheted around the world as an indelible reminder of the cost of human desperation, migrants are still dying in the Mediterranean. Some 200,000 asylum seekers and migrants are still warehoused in abysmal conditions in Greece and Italy, awaiting resolution for their cases. If European leaders can't overcome this seemingly intractable problem, the 28-nation bloc is likely to face an even greater crisis in the near future, says Gerald Knaus, founder of the Berlin-based European Stability Initiative, a policy-analysis organization. "If the E.U. cannot make a success of this, then all the other steps it is taking to manage migration are doomed."

IN EARLY 2016, three families joined tens of thousands of others crossing the Aegean Sea in one of the biggest refugee movements in modern history. For the past 18 months, TIME has been following them as part of its Finding Home project, as each brought a new child into the world. At the time of their departure from the Turkish coast, the families had hopes of joining at least half a million other refugees from Syria who had found safety in northern Europe. Instead, they and 60,000 other migrants were trapped in Greece when E.U. leaders shut the land borders in an attempt to put a stop to the irregular flow of migrants northward.

The families were housed in Greek refugee camps, waiting to be sent to a secondary European country under the quota system introduced in September 2015. To alleviate the burden on Greece, a country already in dire economic straits, the E.U. planned to distribute the asylum seekers among member states, rather than enforce the historic rules that said migrants could apply for asylum only in



the member state where they first set foot.

The "relocation program," as it was called, was a stopgap measure that proved hugely unpopular, among both the refugees and the countries tasked with taking them in. Asylum seekers had no say in where they might be sent, and the application process took up to two years. Meanwhile, the migrants were in a constant state of upheaval as the Greek government shuttled them through a series of camps and temporary shelters in search of adequate housing.

As well as being unpopular, the program has been ineffective. By the time it formally concluded in September, only 21,531 asylum seekers had been relocated, even though 63,000 spaces had been promised by member states through the quota system. (A similar program for arrivals in Italy saw only 10,844 placements out of 35,000 spots.) "It would be a struggle to find anyone who would claim the E.U. relocation program is working on any level," says Katy Long, a writer and researcher on migration issues and an honorary fellow at the University of Edinburgh. The E.U. blames issues of eligibility for the shortfall.

All three of the Finding Home families were eventually relocated, but the results differed wildly from the intended outcomes. Throughout the year, TIME has reported on their struggles to navigate Europe's shambolic decisionmaking on refugee affairs.

The first of the three families, Nourelhuda Altallaa, 25, Yousef Alarsan, 27, and their infant daughter Rahaf, were relocated to Germany in July, but even after spending six months in temporary housing, they are still awaiting a final decision on whether they will be allowed to stay, and if so, for how long. After throwing open its doors to refugees in 2015, Germany is now seeing a political backlash. Merkel is struggling to form a coalition in the wake of elections that brought a populist far-right party—Alternative for Germany (AfD)—to Parliament for the first time in Germany's postwar history, largely on the back of an anti-immigrant campaign. Talks have broken down over whether to put a cap on the number of refugees Germany will take in, and how long they will be able to stay. Even members of Merkel's party, the Christian Democratic Union, are considering parts of the AfD's call to repatriate Syrian refugees, saying the war in Syria is nearly over.

Wael's family was at first assigned to Lithuania but ultimately rejected on unspecified security grounds—the only justification a reluctant E.U. member state has for refusing to take refugees it never wanted in the first place. Once rejected, Wael's family had no choice but to apply for asylum in Greece, even though they knew they were unlikely to stay there.

A third family was granted asylum in Estonia, but it too fled for Germany in the hopes of finding a bigger community of Syrians, better opportunities and a more welcoming environment. There

> ***'IT WOULD BE A STRUGGLE TO FIND ANYONE WHO WOULD CLAIM THE E.U. RELOCATION PROGRAM IS WORKING.'***
>
> **KATY LONG**, researcher on migration issues, University of Edinburgh

Illham Alarabi with her son Faraj in Thessaloniki, Greece, on Aug. 9

is no Europe-wide accounting of what is called secondary movement for relocated refugees, but in Estonia more than half of arrivals from Greece eventually left for elsewhere in the E.U. In Lithuania, it was two-thirds. In neighboring Latvia, all of them left.

The reasons are varied: refugees in remote areas or countries feel isolated; others want to join family elsewhere. The benefits on offer vary wildly, reflecting the local economy and attitudes toward integration. Secondary movement puts an unfair burden on popular destinations, like Germany and Sweden, while countries that resent the E.U. quota system do little to integrate their refugees and happily look the other way when they leave.

The problem lies in one of the foundational tenets of the E.U.: open borders. The Schengen Agreement, in place since 1995, allows for passport-free travel across 26 countries. As the E.U. expanded, so did the Schengen area, but many of the newer member states are suspicious of the bloc's values, says Elizabeth Collett, founding director of Migration Policy Institute Europe, a Brussels-based research institute. These mainly Eastern European states have less capacity in their asylum systems and negative attitudes about immigration, and offer less help with integration.

The refugee crisis has driven a wedge between these smaller, newer states and the larger, mainly Western ones. Many of the former have only grudgingly accepted the quotas set by the E.U.; Hungary, Poland and Slovakia have refused to take in any refugees at all. Hungary's Prime Minister Viktor Orban has become one of the most outspoken critics of the E.U.-wide migrant policy, building a border fence and demanding that would-be migrants be processed in Africa or Turkey, rather than in Europe. In September, the E.U. Court of Justice ruled that the three countries would have to abide by the quota. Only Slovakia has acquiesced.

E.U. member states are now in the process of negotiating a more workable system. A new law, proposed by the body's executive in May, aims to make it easier for migrants to enter legally, in order to discourage the use of smuggling routes. Meanwhile, it wants to strike deals with countries in the Middle East and Africa to take back failed asylum seekers and forge a more permanent quota system. Germany is a strong supporter of the proposal, largely because Merkel needs to demonstrate to her people that the country is not being unfairly burdened. French President Emmanuel Macron is also onboard. But the split between large and small still exists; countries like Hungary and Poland do not want their migration policies to be imposed from Brussels or Berlin, and instead want to toughen border controls.

Refugee advocates call for a more liberalized approach—a human response to what has been treated as a logistical challenge. To start with, says Collett, the application process should take into account the desires of the refugees themselves. But that will have to be accompanied by a much stronger education effort, so that applicants are better informed about the destination countries. At the same time, says Knaus, relocated refugees must be guaranteed roughly comparable living conditions wherever they go, including access to education, health care and a path to citizenship, which is not currently the case. "If I could keep my apartment and my benefits, I wouldn't need to go to Germany," says Alsaleh. "Greece has been very good to us, but without

MAP BY LON TWEETEN FOR TIME

HOW SHOULD EUROPE SOLVE THE CRISIS?

Without peace, we'll always have refugees

By Bana Alabed

My name is Bana, and I am a refugee. Like millions of other children, I had to run away from my country, and I lost many things—including my home. Do you know our crimes? Just that we were born in Syria. The war has been going on almost all my life. Children who should go to school are in refugee camps, or they are dying. There is not enough food or medicine, and bombs fall all of the time. That is why I went on Twitter last year, so that I could tell people what was happening. Everyone in Aleppo, my city, lost someone to the war. I lost my best friend to a bomb. What was her crime?

This is what Syrians are running away from, this is why we go to anywhere that is safe. We have no choice if we want to live. Ask yourself: What if you were in Syria right now? Wouldn't you want to run away to a better life? When I finally got out of Aleppo, I tasted what peace was like for the first time. Turkey welcomed me and my family. Now I can go to school and play outside without hearing the bombs. The world can do better. Refugees need homes, jobs and education, especially the children. Without education, our future is lost and we can't grow up to make the world better. The most important thing, though, is for the wars to end. Without peace, we will always have refugees.

Alabed, 8, is a Syrian refugee and peace activist. She tweets at @AlabedBana

Solving this crisis requires tougher borders

By Sebastian Kurz

At the height of the migration crisis that hit Europe in 2015, a photograph circulated on social media showing a lone police officer standing arms across trying to block a country road near the Austrian border while hundreds of migrants passed by him on either side. For me, this picture was paradigmatic of the crisis: the sense of a loss of control and of being overwhelmed by developments.

Between the summer of 2015 and the spring of 2016, Austria became one of the European countries most affected by the migration and refugee crisis. In the peak year of 2015, Austria counted the third highest per capita rate of asylum applications in the E.U., outnumbered only by Sweden. It was not the first time in recent history that Austria has admitted large numbers of persons seeking refuge; most notably in the wake of the Hungarian uprising in 1956, after the Prague Spring in 1968 and during the wars in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. However, this time was different. First, the sheer number of arrivals in such a short period of time stretched our admission capacities to the limit. Second, the migrants and refugees this time did not flee from our immediate neighborhood but through several countries, including E.U. member states, before arriving in their country of choice. And third, it very quickly became clear that a successful integration of so many people with very different cultural backgrounds and often lower levels of education would present a huge challenge for our society.

For me, it was of the utmost importance to regain control of the situation, to speak out the—perhaps uncomfortable—truth and to

the benefits, it's impossible to stay."

That may sound costly, but the E.U., through its partners in Greece, Germany and Estonia, spent an average of €800 ($938) per month for each of the Finding Home families to cover shelter, relocation travel, health care, meals and living stipends as their asylum claims were processed. A more streamlined system could free up funds to support successful applicants like Alsaleh long enough for him to stand on his own feet in Greece.

IF THE E.U. is to build an asylum system that works, it will need to be built to last. The surge in migrants over the past three years is not a trend, analysts say, but a preview of what is to come as regional conflicts evolve and climate change starts driving people from the Middle East and northern Africa. The International Organization for Migration warns that climate change will cause a "substantial rise in the scale of migration and displacement."

First, Europe must examine its standards for what constitutes a refugee. Right now, Syrians are widely considered to be refugees and are accorded some degree of protection. But those fleeing Afghanistan, a country that has been at war for most of the past 37 years, are increasingly considered to be economic migrants, and Germany is already sending some back. The urgency of the 2015 crisis has blurred the lines between migrant and refugee, says Krastev, the political scientist. As the nature of conflict changes, Europe may have to rethink its definitions, and response. "We are living in a world in which potentially there are hundreds of millions of people who could defend the fact that they are refugees—from war, yes, but also from sexual violence, from climate change, from anti-homosexual persecution, from religious crackdowns," he says. "How are we going to treat the first climate-change refugees that show up in Europe? As refugees? As labor migrants?"

It must also think long-term. Asylum is considered a temporary refuge from danger, even though instability in many regions of the world can last for decades. Yet many countries are moving in the opposite direction. When refugees from Syria first started arriving in Sweden and Germany, both countries offered full refugee status, which includes the right to permanent residency and a path to citizenship. Now, because of political

GETTY IMAGES (3)

find answers. It was therefore important that we closed the "Western Balkans route" together with partners such as Macedonia and Serbia in March 2016. It had almost immediately the intended effect of drastically reducing arrivals on Greek islands.

The migration crisis continues apace, however. In Austria, we register asylum applications still above the pre-crisis level. An estimated 1 million migrants still wait in Libya hoping for their chance to cross the Mediterranean Sea to Europe. Migratory pressure will not decrease in the years to come.

A robust control of the E.U.'s external borders remains a prerequisite if we want to solve the migration crisis. Frontex, the E.U. agency tasked with managing the European border, is increasingly becoming more effective. We need to further strengthen it for it to become a true European border and coast guard. Stopping and returning illegal migrants to their countries of origin must become standard procedure. In order to bolster our readmission policy, the E.U. should use all instruments at its disposal, including the fact that it is the most important donor of development aid worldwide. When necessary, the E.U. needs to apply a "less-for-less" principle if countries refuse to cooperate in readmitting their citizens from the E.U.

Resettlement programs should in turn allow those most in need of protection to find a safe and legal pathway to Europe. Currently, the route to Europe is only accessible to those who are either fit enough for the journey or who can afford to pay a smuggler. But it should be us, and not smugglers, who determine who is admitted to Europe. The migration and refugee crisis is far from over. We therefore have to continue to do our utmost to find sustainable solutions and show our citizens the direct benefit of European cooperation.

Kurz is the leader of the Austrian People's Party and Austria's Minister for Foreign Affairs

Together, we can give refugees a chance

By David Miliband

The refugee crisis is manageable, not insoluble. Here is the deal: a new bargain giving refugees the chance of employment, in return for host countries getting long-term macroeconomic support. A reform of the aid system to prioritize cash distribution to refugees, bringing power to them and benefit to the communities in which they live. A major increase in investment in education of children, which should be a lifeline, not a luxury. And a resettlement system for the most vulnerable refugees, to give them a chance to start a new life in a new country.

By virtue of geography, Europe is on the front line of this crisis. Because of its range of diplomatic, humanitarian and political tools, it has the chance to fashion a comprehensive response. The refugee crisis is a trial for refugees and a test for those of us living in the comfortable West. When we fail refugees, we betray our own history. Just as important, we compromise our interests in a more stable and peaceful world, because untended humanitarian crises are fuel for political instability. This problem is solvable—if we all take responsibility.

Miliband is the president and CEO of the International Rescue Committee. His new book, Rescue: Refugees and the Political Crisis of Our Time, *is out now.*

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pressures, Germany offers only so-called subsidiary protection to Syrian refugees—which lasts up to three years and denies many the right to bring over close family members. This may become even less liberal as Merkel seeks to build a coalition between political parties that differ on refugee integration. Even members of her own party have suggested that some Syrian refugees might be able to return home in 2018, citing a pending peace deal negotiated by Russia and Iran.

Altallaa and Alarsan, who were relocated to Germany, say they intend to return home as soon as the war ends. But that statement belies the realities of a shattered country that will take years to rebuild, even under the best circumstances. If European governments want to reverse the flow of refugees, they will have to make it easier for them to go home. And one of the best ways to do that is to offer them long-term residency in the country of asylum, says migration expert Long. It may seem paradoxical, but her research shows that refugees are much more willing to risk returning home to rebuild when they know they have a fallback if war breaks out again. "Giving a refugee permanent status somewhere else actually makes them far more likely to return home in the first months and years of a peace process, because they know they have an exit route," she says. "They won't have to get back on a smuggler's boat if things go wrong."

EVEN AS E.U. LEADERS struggle to define a comprehensive policy, the crisis continues to cast a shadow on the continent. Populist politicians across the board are calling for a fresh crackdown on migration. Hungary's Orban, inspired by Australia's draconian policy, wants to withhold asylum from any migrant caught illegally entering Europe. This vision of

'THIS REALLY IS A BATTLE OVER THE SOUL OF EUROPE.'

GERALD KNAUS, founder, the European Stability Initiative

Fortress Europe is gaining currency, and if far-right parties perform well in Italy's elections next year, it could spread there too. This can be effective, to judge by the declining numbers of arrivals. But at what cost? At least some of the reduction is attributable to a dubious E.U. deal with Libyan mercenaries to prevent would-be migrants from departing the North African coast on smugglers' boats. Instead, they end up in detention centers where they are abused, tortured, held for ransom and even sold as slaves.

The debate over how to handle migration isn't going to end Europe, but it will define it. Stricter policies could mean more dead bodies washing up on Europe's beaches. More liberal ones, if managed badly, could further embolden far-right agendas. "This really is a battle over the soul of Europe," says Knaus. "If we can show that it is possible to not only reduce arrivals but to reduce the number of deaths in the Mediterranean, while also treating those who arrive decently and allowing them to successfully integrate into society, we can achieve so much more for Europe as a whole."

Not just for Europe, but for the lives of those who come seeking refuge and a new life free from fear, from tyranny and from war. The refugee crisis may be a political challenge, but it is one that plays out on a human scale. Wael did not choose to leave his home in Syria, and his parents would not take him out of the only school he has ever known if they felt they had a choice. Like the other children TIME has been following over the past year and a half, Wael is a member of Europe's Generation Refugee. One that, by accident of history or confluence of world events, will only grow in the years and decades to come. What they experience now may, in the end, shape Europe's future. *—With reporting by* IRENE LIOUMI *and* ABEER ALBADAWI/THESSALONIKI; LAMIS ALJASEM/VERL; *and* BILLY PERRIGO/LONDON

Reporting for this project is supported by a grant from the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting and Merck for Mothers (known as MSD for Mothers outside of the U.S. and Canada)

▸ *Experience our Finding Home multimedia package at* ***time.com/finding-home***

Altallaa, Alarsan and their daughter Rahaf gather in the kitchen of their new home in Verl, Germany, on Nov. 22

AHEAD OF THE HEADLINES

TEST YOUR NEWS SENSE BY PREDICTING THE BIGGEST STORIES TO COME IN 2018

BY NATE HOPPER

1. North Korean missiles will appear capable of reaching:

A. Beyond Earth's atmosphere, and re-entering
B. Antarctica, oddly enough
C. A critical mass to launch new peace-treaty talks
D. Mars, while carrying at least one passenger

2. Tiger Woods will see his first majors win in half a decade:

A. At the Masters
B. At the U.S. Open
C. At the Open Championship
D. On Nintendo Switch

3. The best of the 80—*80!*—movies Netflix plans to release in 2018 will be:

A. *The Ballad of Buster Scruggs,* written and directed by the Coen brothers
B. *How It Ends,* starring Forest Whitaker
C. *Eggplant Emoji,* starring Ben Stiller
D. The ones you can skip
E. C, because of D

4. The fatal flaw of the Democrats' plans to retake the House will be ____, but will be called ____.

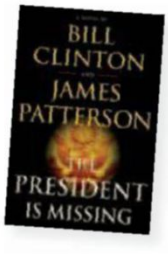
A. Partisan gerrymandering; "the reality of political geography"
B. Donald Trump; Nate Silver
C. Voter suppression; inadequate funding
D. Mediocre messaging; populism

5. What will be the expression on Stephen Bannon's face after the 2018 congressional elections?

A. B. C. D.

6. *The President Is Missing,* a novel co-authored by James Patterson and Bill Clinton debuting on June 4, will be:

A. Present on the best-seller list
B. Mistaken for a prelude to another Clinton presidential run
C. A 500-page subtweet
D. Fake news



7. The most controversial costume at the 2018 Met Gala, with its theme of "Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination," will be:

A. Rihanna as Pope Francis
B. Rooney Mara as Mary Magdalene (as a promo for the 2018 movie *Mary Magdalene*)
C. George and Amal Clooney as Adam and Eve
D. Pope Francis as Rihanna

8. For their wedding, President Donald Trump will give Prince Harry and duchess-to-be Meghan Markle:

A. A single "Make America Great Again" hat
B. Lifetime membership to all Trump golf courses (price of hotel stays not included)
C. An envelope of cash
D. New England, which he doesn't want anymore anyway

9. The E.U.'s enforcement of its consumer-data-protection laws will lead to:

A. Further clashes with Uber
B. Further revelations about Facebook's psychological experiments on its users
C. Increases in Googling oneself
D. No real change in people's Internet habits

10.

Oil prices will:

A. Continue to rise, as the predetermined OPEC and non-member-nation production cuts go unhindered
B. Fall, after a Russia–Saudi Arabia rift ruptures the deal
C. Plummet, after China in particular implements electric cars at a rapid pace
D. Increase more than predicted, after the bitcoin-billionaire Winklevii invest big in Venezuela's new oil-backed cryptocurrency, petro

11.

The final season of *Game of Thrones:*

A. Won't air till after 2018
B. Seriously, let's not kid ourselves
C. Don't get us wrong, we want to see whether Jaime kills Cersei, too
D. But yeah, no chance

GAME OF THRONES: HBO; WOODS, BANNON (4), PRINCE HARRY AND MARKLE: GETTY IMAGES

EDITORS' PREDICTIONS: 1. A; 2. C; 3. A; 4. D; 5. C; 6. D; 7. A; 8. B; 9. D; 10. A; 11. C

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